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CONTENTS

Number 1—February, 1949

- Pathological Problems in Politics. *Henry R. Spencer* 1
- Walter Bagehot and Liberal Realism. *David Easton* 17
- American Government and Politics
  - Unification of the Armed Forces—The First Year. *Robert H. Connery* 38
- Rural Local Government
  - County and Township Government in 1947. *Clyde F. Snider and Neil F. Garvey* 53
- Foreign Government and Politics
  - The British Cabinet and the Ministry of Defense. *Henry D. Jordan* 73
- International Affairs
  - Citizen Diplomacy. *James Marshall* 83
- Instruction and Research
  - The "Great Issues" Course at Dartmouth College. *Arthur M. Wilson* 91
  - Teaching International Relations: The Model Security Council or General Assembly. *Robert E. Elder* 95
- News andNotes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor* 99
  - Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. *Harvey Walker* 107
- Book Reviews and Notices 129
- Recent Publications of Political Interest
  - Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney* 183
  - Government Publications. *Miles O. Price* 204

Number 2—April, 1949

- Law as an Objective Political Concept. *G. Lowell Field* 229
- Administration of Military Government in Japan at the Prefectural Level. *Ralph J. D. Braibanti* 250
- Constitutional Law in 1947–48. *David Fellman* 275
- American Government and Politics
  - Some Notes on Party Membership in Congress, I. *Clarence A. Berdahl* 309
  - Did Hughes Snub Johnson?—An Inside Story. *Frederick M. Davenport* 321
- Foreign Government and Politics
  - The British Civil Service in Transition. *E. N. Gladden* 333
- News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor* 345
- Book Reviews and Notices 357
- Recent Publications of Political Interest
  - Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney* 403
  - Government Publications. *Miles O. Price* 423
  - Notes on Some Recent Documentary Materials. *James B. Childs* 431

Number 3—June, 1949

- Rebuilding the German Constitution, I. *Carl J. Friedrich* 461
- American Government and Politics
  - The Second Session of the Eightieth Congress. *Floyd M. Riddick* 483
  - Some Notes on Party Membership in Congress, II. *Clarence A. Berdahl* 492
- Foreign Government and Politics
  - Administrative Supervision of Local Government: The Canadian Experience. *Winston W. Crouch* 509

National Defense and Democratic Society: A Symposium. *Fritz Morstein Marx (ed.)*
I. National Security in American Public Affairs. *John D. Millett* 524
II. Policy Formulation for National Security. *Sidney W. Souers* 534
III. The National Military Establishment. *William Frye* 543
IV. Economic Mobilization. *Ralph J. Watkins* 555
Instruction and Research
Public Opinion Research in Government. *Harold F. Gosnell and Moyca C. David* 564
News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor* 573
Book Reviews and Notices 585
Recent Publications of Political Interest
Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney* 631
Government Publications. *Miles O. Price* 652

NUMBER 4—AUGUST, 1949

The Australian Labor Party. *Louise Overacker* 677
Rebuilding the German Constitution, II. *Carl J. Friedrich* 704
American Government and Politics
Some Notes on Party Membership in Congress, III. *Clarence A. Berdahl* 721
Public Law
State Constitutional Law in 1948–49. *Foster H. Sherwood* 735
Instruction and Research
Audio-Visual Media and Political Science Teaching. *Ruth G. Weintraub* 766
News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor* 777
Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science. *David Fellman* 787
Book Reviews and Notices 812
Recent Publications of Political Interest
Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney* 861
Government Publications. *Miles O. Price* 875
Notes on Some Recent Documentary Materials. *James B. Childs* 882

NUMBER 5—OCTOBER, 1949

Government Corporations; A Focus of Policy and Administration, I. *Marshall E. Dimock* 899
American Government and Politics
The Influence of the Tennessee Valley Authority on Government in the South. *Joseph M. Ray* 922
The Hoover Commission: A Symposium. *Louis W. Koenig (ed.)* 933
I. Introduction. *Charles Aikin and Louis W. Koenig* 933
II. The Operation of a Mixed Commission, *Ferrel Heady* 940
III. The Presidency. *John M. Gaus* 952
IV. Departmental Management. *John D. Millett* 959
V. Foreign Affairs. *D. S. Cheever and H. F. Haviland* 966
VI. The Regulatory Commissions Revisited. *C. Herman Pritchett* 978
VII. Improving Federal Management Services. *Lewis B. Sims* 989
International Affairs
The Idea of a "Safety Belt." *Arnold Brecht* 1001
Instruction and Research
Recent Japanese Political and Historical Materials. *Delmer M. Brown* 1010
News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor* 1018
The National School of Administration in France. *B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch* 1026
Book Reviews and Notices 1031

Recent Publications of Political Interest
Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney*............ 1081
Government Publications. *Miles O. Price*.................................. 1095

NUMBER 6—DECEMBER, 1949

Administrative Ethics and the Rule of Law. *Fritz Morstein Marx*............. 1119
Government Corporations; A Focus of Policy and Administration, II. *Marshall E. Dimock*.. 1145
The Political Philosophy of Young Charles A. Beard. *Bernard C. Borning*....... 1165
American Government and Politics
How Congress Functions Under its Reorganization Act. *Elbert D. Thomas*.... 1179
The Influence of Metropolitan Party Pluralities in Presidential Elections since 1920. *Samuel J. Eldersveld*.................................... 1189
The Constitutional Significance of the Executive Office of the President. *Clinton L. Rossiter*.. 1206
Congress and the Budget; A Planner's Criticism. *Edward C. Banfield*....... 1217
Loss of Citizenship and Civil Rights for Conviction of Crime. *James A. Gathings*.. 1228
Practical Politics
Running for the City Council: A Case Study. *Arthur W. Bromage*.......... 1235
News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous. *Managing Editor*................ 1242
The International Political Science Association. *Quincy Wright*............ 1252
Book Reviews and Notices.. 1256
Recent Publications of Political Interest
Books and Periodicals. *Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney*............ 1306
Government Publications. *Miles O. Price*.................................. 1323
Index to Volume XLIII. *Mary T. Reynolds*.................................. 1331

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VOL. XLIII FEBRUARY, 1949 NO. 1

CONTENTS

Pathological Problems in Politics.................. Henry R. Spencer....... 1
Walter Bagehot and Liberal Realism............... David Easton........... 17
American Government and Politics.................
Unification of the Armed Forces—The First Year... Robert H. Connery...... 38
Rural Local Government.........................
County and Township Government in 1947....... Clyde F. Snider and Neil F. Garvey......... 53
Foreign Government and Politics..................
The British Cabinet and the Ministry of Defense... Henry D. Jordan....... 73
International Affairs............................
Citizen Diplomacy........................... James Marshall........ 83
Instruction and Research.........................
The "Great Issues" Course at Dartmouth College.. Arthur M. Wilson....... 91
Teaching International Relations: The Model Security Council or General Assembly........... Robert E. Elder........ 95
News and Notes, Personal and Miscellaneous...... Managing Editor....... 99
Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.................... Harvey Walker.......... 107
Book Reviews and Notices.. 129
Recent Publications of Political Interest...........
Books and Periodicals......................... Charles B. Hagan and J. Austin Ranney....... 183
Government Publications...................... Miles O. Price.......... 204

(For list of Book Reviews, see next page)

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Watkins, The Political Tradition of the West. Thomas P. Peardon. 129
Konvitz and Murphy (eds.), Essays in Political Theory. Harvey C. Mansfield 130
Hayek, Individualism and Economic Order. Sidney Ratner 132
Siches et al., Latin-American Legal Philosophy. J. A. C. Grant 133
Beard (ed.), The Enduring Federalist; Beloff (*ed.*), The Federalist. Herman Finer 135
Kelly and Harbison, The American Constitution. Clinton L. Rossiter 138
Corwin, Liberty Against Government. Vincent M. Barnett, Jr. 140
Friedrich et al., American Experiences in Military Government in World War II. R. W. Van Wagenen 142
Gulick, Administrative Reflections from World War II. Wallace S. Sayre 143
Spero, Government as Employer. M. Nelson McGeary 145
Moscow, Politics in the Empire State. Hugh A. Bone 146
Stimson and Bundy, On Active Service in Peace and War. John D. Millett 148
Fenwick, International Law. Leo Gross 150
Guggenheim, Lehrbuch des Voelkerrechts. John H. Herz 152
Schuman, International Politics. Leland M. Goodrich 153
Snyder, The Most-Favored-Nation Clause. J. William Robinson 156
Winslow, The Pattern of Imperialism. Sidney Ratner 157
Brinton, From Many One; *Armstrong*, The Calculated Risk. John W. Masland 159
Ward, The West at Bay; *Wallace*, Toward World Peace. Henry Reiff 161
Bryson et al. (eds.), Learning and World Peace. Wilbur W. White 162
Gayn, Japan Diary. Ralph J. D. Braibanti 164
Le Corbusier, Concerning Town Planning; *Kekwick*, Town and Country Planning Law. William Anderson 166
Briefer Notices 167
Meiklejohn, Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government; *Corwin*, The President: Office and Powers; *Lyons*, Our Unknown Ex-President; *Werner (ed.)*, The Making of an Insurgent; *Blinken*, Wool Tariffs and American Policy; *Smith*, Customs Valuation in the United States; *Fairman*, American Constitutional Decisions; *Fairchild*, Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life; *Park*, The White Man's Peace; *Joseph*, British Rule in Palestine; *Maxey*, Political Philosophies; etc.

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VOL. XLIII FEBRUARY, 1949 NO. 1

PATHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN POLITICS*

HENRY RUSSELL SPENCER
Ohio State University

In one of Hans Andersen's fairy-tales, the emperor was exhibiting himself in splendid new raiment. But it was a hoax: the swindling tailors had provided no clothes at all; they had succeeded by black magic in imposing a belief that whoever should fail to see and adore the imperial robes was thereby betraying his own stupidity and unworthiness. All, all were taken in, by their fear and ambition, until a little child, ignoring the beauty of holiness, the sacredness of majesty, the inviolability of sovereignty, blurted out the simple truth—"the emperor is entirely without robes." So I invite you to look with fearless candor at sundry sacred cows. They may be nothing but cunning contraptions of lath and plaster and camouflage paint. Let us candidly and naively say what we see.

As we look back 45 years to the origin of our Association, there are striking changes to be observed. The atom, then regarded as the ultimate indissoluble unit, has turned out to be complex like a solar system; its fission, whether for useful power or for the destruction of us all, has become a defiant challenge to our generation, the $64 question: Has our inventiveness in engines of destruction perilously outdistanced our power of moral growth?

Our kind of scientist observes that in our parlous political position new pathological factors are coming to light, symptoms that call for clear identification, conditions that require treatment if one is to hope for amelioration of health, peradventure for cure. We see about us not only blood, sweat, and tears—they might well inspire us to unwonted effort and more effective toil—but also corruption, gangrene. There is the so-called suicide or frankly avowed

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*** Presidential address delivered before the American Political Science Association at its forty-fourth annual meeting, Chicago, Ill., December 28, 1948.**

assassination of statesmen, slavery in concentration camp, families rent asunder by unpassable boundaries, inflation causing slow starvation, nationalistic frenzy, inventive skills prostituted to the enrichment of the privileged few, to the envy of the deprived millions. These have become literal facts of life, no longer lurid metaphors, as in the happy days of 1903.

Have we grown up while our socio-political world has been growing down? Have we become adult in our judgments, or do we remain childish? Has man advanced in humaneness, or must we reverse the prayer-book phrase and look upon today's political man, worshiping the Leviathan-state, as "very beast of very beast"?

As we gather to celebrate our birthday, we look back in reminiscence even to centennials, though that is worth doing only if it clarify the perspective of our vision directed forward. The year 1648 saw the end of thirty years' war, fixing the map of Europe by treaties which realized the principle *cujus regio ejus religio* (let every ruler determine the religion of his subjects). Our own thirty years' conflict has not yet found its definitive solution. If, making the worst supposition regarding religion, it be ruefully admitted that all are worshipers of Mammon, we have not yet agreed on a boundary between rival creeds for even that Mammon-worship; have not yet accepted mutual toleration (as in 1648) between areas for the accepted orthodoxy of "dialectical materialism" on the one hand, and that of plutocracy or "capitalistic democracy" on the other.

The year 1748 saw Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois,* which set the metes and bounds of our founding fathers' political science; though even he, as we now know, seriously misunderstood the British constitution he admired. Certain precepts which our constitution-framers adopted from Montesquieu still remain as swaddling-clothes, badly cramping our freedom of development. That same year 1748 saw the beginning of Edmund Burke's career, who sowed the seed in men's minds whence came that mighty growth (is it the poisonous upas tree or the oak?), the political party. If adequately organized and implemented, this Atlas might bear the burden of society's self-government. What, however, would a present-day Burke think of our party "machine"? We know that it corresponds in a measure to Burke's very *bête noire,* the crass, stupid, corrupting power of the eighteenth-century crown. It is nearly fifty years since Ostrogorski gave us an authentic portrait of that horrid monster of ours. Yet, like the weather, little is done about it.

The year 1848 we may leave mostly to the historians. We devote one session to its political significance, including that block-busting indictment, the *Communist Manifesto,* which still keeps us jittery. With its mixture of true accusation and false rhetoric, it reminds us of a prosecuting attorney's summation argument, for winning jury verdict, by fair means or foul.

Permit me to remind you, however, that 1848 is also the year in which some two dozen tiny Swiss cantons, intensely jealous for their individual characters, rallied after a bloodless civil war to adopt a federal, national constitution. Here, as under a microscope, the world has looked on and seen steady progress, uninterrupted by violence or by the revolution that begets counter-revolution, untroubled by whoring after the false gods of glittering generalities, with none of that anti-scientific prejudice which Sidney and Beatrice Webb called the "disease of orthodoxy," the Swiss wisely preferring to try anything that contains a promise of possible new truth.

Right there is the point of all these backward glances, giving them relevance for our guidance as we go forward. Notwithstanding our vast ignorance, we must be laboratory scientists, studying our own record of experience, and especially the experience of others, to inform and guide our present action, progressing, when and as we are able, out of astrology into astronomy, out of alchemy into chemistry.

Our most fruitful analogy, I submit, is the science of pathology, as might well have been expected after 2,000 years' worship of Aristotle, the son of a doctor. Knowledge of medicine is still far from complete; but we have eliminated some vestigial survivals: we do have appendectomies. We political scientists are still baffled by the cancer of war, a marvelous energy gone wrong; also the common cold of voters' ignorance and apathy, which saps vital energy and leaves the system flabby and inert, an absolutely lethal effect upon democracy.

One encouraging advance we have made. As boys, we used to hear whisperings about "consumption" and "going into a decline"; and until yesterday there was the same shamefaced attitude toward cancer and "social diseases." But, generally speaking, we now boldly face our problem, name it, and attack it; perhaps, like

Ehrlich, we try 605 experiments in vain, until the 606th produces salvarsan. If universities and cities are now building medical centers, why should not political scientists develop similar agencies for clinical study, to exchange rather than hoard and hide their promising clues, to combine technical skills into effectively integrated plans of action, with hearty devotion of society's resources to the curing of society's ills?

One serious obstacle, paradoxically enough, is our want of serious will really to be an association. Reflect a moment on our whole three-fold name. "American" is obvious, and is used only by way of modesty: we are eager to give and receive with Canadians, Britons, and all the rest in a United Nations Political Science Association. God be merciful to us sinners, if as Pharisees we close our eyes to our own defects, and to the achievements of others, whether our elders or our betters.

But the word "Association" presents a real difficulty. Few of us take seriously our membership one of another. Of course we can never dispense with free individuality, the lonely labor of the lonely scholar. But much is lost, and society's potential wealth of thought is the chief loser, if we do not imaginatively realize our potentialities of associative thought.

We think we are doing our duty if we pay our dues promptly. While food and fuel have gone up far beyond one hundred per cent, and the Saturday periodical wherewith many of our fellow-citizens think they "keep Posted" costs three times as much as formerly, we plume ourselves on a mere one-third rise in annual dues. Have we, because disinterested, become uninterested in our membership? Is there any scholarly activity, from the editing of the Review to the production of a treatise, that does not gain from mutual criticism, give and take, hard-won progress through social thinking from thesis through antithesis to synthesis, the endless "upward spiral" made famous by Hegel? More recently we have revived the Greek symposium, imported the German seminar, invented the panel, the round-table, the conciliation board, the task force, even the air lift. All these gadgets may help mind to meet mind, not clashing but meshing in gear. But no mechanism is fool-proof.

Committees some regard as a time-wasting nuisance. True, they may be abused. But many of you know from experience that when a real committee gets busy it not only pools the knowledge and judgment of its members, but catalyzes them, begets something that is beyond the powers of all acting individually. It is only by committee coöperation that our excessive and sterilizing specialization may be prevented from producing hopeless atomization and disintegrated do-less futility. Variety of opinion can lead to supplementation, correction, invigoration. An English or Canadian premier is not embarrassed but strengthened when he has the House of Commons on his hands; he meets criticism with persuasion; put to his trumps, he really justifies his position. Not content with the weakness of a despot or president surrounded by yes-men, he is all the stronger because his cabinet in its secret debate encourages the active participation of constructive critics. They show up the weak points of a proposal, in time for opposition to be "taken into camp," at least accurately discounted.

Some of us feel apologetic when our chemist and biologist colleagues mention our name "political science" with lifted eyebrows: "not very scientific," we admit, except in spirit. Perhaps that is false modesty. Too many of those same colleagues are pathetically closed-minded, unscientific, mere ignorant laymen, when caught outside the field of their own narrow specialty. At least we know that we cannot evade the obligation to cultivate devotedly the ordered knowledge that is available regarding the mind and will of the state, how it can be found and expressed (which is politics), and how it can be put into action (which is administration).

Science, truly so-called, after description must proceed with analysis, first qualitative to identify the elements and then, far more difficult, quantitative. It is tempting to talk of statistical method, but we soon find how limited is its applicability. One can count children of school age, but it requires a very uncommon "common sense" to judge wisely society's need, not only of millions who can read comic strips (but cannot write a readable letter), but of those twos and threes who can read the signs of the times; not only the thousands who can acquire skills, but the priceless few who can learn how to use the skilled technicians, combine and guide them for the social weal. Big Business confidently pays a high price for the professional skills it requires, from lawyer, accountant, and "executive." Here political society lags far behind.

Another question we must resolutely face. Ivory towers have become, in Mr. Kennon's phrase at the N.E.A., "mere warrens for scared rabbits." On the other hand, we freely admit that ours, as compared with physics, is not a "pure science." Not impure in its motive; but "we are in the midst of affairs"; we pursue our science not for its own sake, not even for truth's sake, but "for the healing of the nations." What we seek to know is, What is the matter with us? Has the body politic lost touch with the academic mind, and the civic conscience? What is political health, and how may it be attained? Like the physicians, we are pioneers, groping, probing, not expecting immediate and entire success—but not afraid to stick our necks out; setting up working hypotheses, testing whether they will work and if not, abandoning them, but always trying again. To "know-how" we add "look-see," and "make-do."

We may not, as does the chemist, freely exploit our material with acids, litmus paper, and slop-jar. The physician must scrupulously preserve his patient's life while he experiments towards health. As Burke warned us, an ideologically purposed tampering with political organisms may destroy life, which it will pass the wit of man to restore. We must warily watch the patient's constitution, what he can stand, what he may develop. We must persuade, cajole, and for the sake of uninterrupted life suffer the continuance of old practices that have lost most of their original meaning. But see the reciprocal interaction of old institutions and highly individualized men. Think of how the presidency spoiled General Grant, and yet how it transfigured "Chet" Arthur from a spoilsman to a man. Think of what Uncle Joe Cannon did to the speakership and the House, but then think of what George Norris did to a lame-duck Congress, a Nebraska legislature, a Tennessee Valley. We are reminded of the long patience and selfless devotion of a Pasteur, a Walter Reed.

One of the ideals of science, closely involved with its disinterested impartiality and its openness of mind to real and new truth, is *precision*. The physicist's technical terms are safe from misunderstanding abuse by the uninitiated layman, since he manifestly has little idea of what they mean, not even enough to counterfeit them. In our science the very words are taken from the lips of the man in the street; they are old token-coins worn smooth, their value on tongue, ear, and eye dubious, often spurious. Our vocabulary is, quintessentially, equivocation. Think, for example, of the wide variety in meaning of the word *cabinet* in Washington, Westminster, and Paris, of the same name *speaker* for one who in Washington exercises political dominance over the House, is completely absent from the Senate, in Westminster is a silent and impartial umpire.

Far worse is the loose talk, often wishful double talk, in which many indulge regarding political purpose, in party platform and statute law, and even in text-book and treatise, seeking to mean all things to all men, for all purposes. Are we dealing fairly with our students, called in their innocent docility "political science majors"? Do we warn them to challenge the words they hear used? With what meaning in the specific context? Do we attempt to indoctrinate them with our truth? Or have we the modesty and ingenuity to awaken their own powers of questing search, whereby they can find what is their truth, holding fast from tradition that which is good, but constantly freshening it by what is good for their own new time, realizing with Bentham that "antiquity is no reason," with Burke that "you preserve only by purifying"?

The last word (purify) leads us on into our pathological laboratory, the work-room where we attempt to clean up the mess, the illness in which society finds itself. Where to begin? In 1927, Munro recited to this very audience thirteen points of what he indicted as our widely held "intellectual insincerities." His thirteenth point, "a government of laws not of men," is a striking instance of the good young phrase gone wrong. Harrington's utopian *Oceana* in 1656 had made it famous; and it was plausible, hence winning. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 owed much to the wisdom of Harrington. But what would Harrington and the men of Massachusetts think, could they see a twentieth-century's fetich-worship of that famous phrase? It is now used to justify a business civilization that defies government, calls government planning communistic, regards government as divinely commanded to play a negative rôle, to keep its hands off; requires that government be not by law nor by men but by mere attorneys, "business lawyers" who have not learned to be men, certainly not to be statesmen. How far we are from that goal set by Lord Brougham a century ago, when he referred to the Caesar who found Rome brick and left it marble, Brougham continuing:

> "How much nobler will be our Sovereign's boast when he shall have it to say that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book and left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence!"

Possibly it is unfair to indict our civilization for "insincerities"; it is in part unawareness. But a truly scientific spirit must compel attention to ambiguities, to clear them up. As equivocations, they are sore spots on the body politic, uncleannesses in our thinking, festering, poisoning. I now mention a round dozen of these pathological factors, both ambiguous words and dangerous, ambiguous situations. Unfortunately, much of this stuff is all too familiar; but it is accepted and lived with as if it were inevitable. I do not pretend to have the right diagnosis, still less the prognosis required. But I do descry symptoms of suffering. Here are signs to be interpreted, diseases to be treated, by those who are able. There is no logical order of presentation. Not even the alphabet will suffice, but we will start off with an *A*.

(1) *Appeasement*. For ten years this has been a doubly-damned name for the "crime" of Munich. But that is criminal mistreatment of an honorable idea; in time we shall recover our poise. That dire event, as Sir Arthur Salter's wise new book[1] tells us, "was a phase of weakness in the life of the democracies of the world—all the democracies." But, he continues, under other and more usual conditions "concession and compromise . . . is the normal method of political progress and settlement in both domestic and international affairs."

(2) *Aristocracy*. We hardly need to be warned against allowing extraordinary privilege to the caste of the "well-born," or to mere men of money. But many forget that in Greek the word means rule, not by the rich, not by the average, but by the *best*. Gradually we have learned how futile is the polity, even if it bear the magic name democracy, that does not know how to find and follow its leaders, whether they come to our presidency from a Kentucky log-cabin or a Westchester county estate, or to another presidency from professorial chairs like Masaryk and Beneš; or to a less conspicuous rôle like a Smith (not Adam but James Allen), the seminal constitutional thinker; or from a Wall Street law office, the diplomat Dwight Morrow.

(3) Thirdly, a widespread habit of thought which makes against political health. *Dichotomy* as a logical device always tempts the superficial thinker. Children easily and neatly classify men as good or bad, friend or foe, white or black, *either-or*. Only the mature in statesmanship see its fallacy and find neither white nor black but varied shades of gray, containing some white, some black. Even

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[1] Salter, *Personality in Politics*, pp. 72, 81.

in Republican-or-Democrat, Socialist-or-Capitalist, Proletariat-or-Bourgeoisie, Fascist-or-Communist, each of the contrasted categories is a vastly various aggregate of elements, some factors on each side intricately allied to some factors on the other, in economic make-up, intellectual attitude, and voting habit. Even the word *fascismo* in 1919 suggested real beauty, young men devoting themselves unselfishly to the common good, the unification of quarreling sects. The word was brought to utter degradation by the insane ambition of a leader and by the maneuvers of privileged economic groups and gangsters, who cloaked their self-seeking under a pretended "corporative" ideal. By the same token, let us watch with care lest our "democracy" be used as a cloak for our own pet vices: here plutocracy, there demagogy, elsewhere faction.

In view of the smug complacency with which we view others' shortcomings, I beg you who are proud of democracy to remember the Kingfish, who was called a Democrat, and based his despotism on the vote of the "common man." But—lest you suppose this is pointing a scornful finger at Louisiana—I too, as one Massachusetts-born, put on sackcloth and ashes, in the spirit of Whittier's Ichabod (the glory is departed), when I remember that "scholar in politics" from Boston who betrayed his own long-held principles and for motives of party and personal spite put forth his skilled hand in the Senate in 1919 to slay the League of Nations Covenant.

Perhaps our most mortal danger (after self-righteousness) is neither fascism nor communism, but totalitarianism, the weakness which is found among both fascists and communists, and some unworthy democrats as well—the irresponsible submission to an irresponsible State that knows and does all, determines and censors all, crushes and stifles Liberty.

(4) Coming down to something concrete, even petty. We retain hundreds (possibly a thousand) of superfluous *counties*, an administrative "jungle," without justification in the telephone-automobile age. But county consolidation would throw out of employment thousands of old-line bureaucrats, who know the cohesive and conservative power of public pay as well as public plunder. A prepotent class of professionals, impregnably entrenched, they perpetuate a gargantuan ballot to confuse the voter and keep him dependent, and cannily convert to their own defensive use the very primary election system which was devised for their ousting. It could still be employed to that end if only the people's rule were

appreciated as something the people really desire and will responsibly conduct, if only our Citizenship Participation Committee's voice crying in the wilderness might be heard from the housetops and streets, and in the homes. They have shown, by precept and example, how we could stop the tragic waste incurred by educated men's abstention from practical politics, "good citizens" not troubling themselves to go into city council or state legislature or Congress—or even into the ballot-booth.

(5) The American *Constitution.* (Not to stress its ambiguity, but to point to a number of sore spots.) (a) Are we, in the mid-twentieth century, afraid to face the fact of deep social change that calls imperatively for adaptation; are we absurdly trying to wear an eighteenth-century costume, a document which was doubtless an amazingly clever device to meet the situation of its own date, but was not expected by its contrivers to be a permanently fitting uniform, certainly not to be conjured with as white magic? (b) Are all our forty-eight states real entities, justifying their existence by social service, equally aware of state rights and state duties? (c) We used to refer with bated breath of reverence to *small* states as of unique virtue, presenting real grass-roots democracy. Now, without invidious reference to such paragons as Delaware and Rhode Island and Nevada, let me remind you of Rappard's recent careful study *L'Individu et l'État,* where one learns in detail how modern Switzerland has become really democratic "not thanks to the efforts, but in spite of the passionate opposition, of the primitive cantons," those picturesque peasant *Landsgemeinde* which used to be idolized by the historian Freeman and our own Robert C. Brooks. (d) Does anyone suppose the bicameralism we now have in Washington remains that which was designed in 1787, the clever Yankee Connecticut Compromise, whereby the Senate was to protect local autonomy against the nationalizing House? (e) Has our famous system of check-and-balance achieved an effect upon government which is essentially paralysis, dead-center blockage, the ship of state "in irons," negation instead of creation?

(6) *Congress* was expected to be the measuring-rod and speech-organ of public opinion, until pollsters and commentators usurped that power. The new Eighty-first Congress may recover a bit of self-confidence. If so, our representative system will want a deal of doing-over. (a) Nearly seven centuries of experiment with apportionment leave us still puzzled. We retain our fantastic gerry-

mander, rotten borough, and "county unit." Yet proportional representation schemes, to correct the anomaly of one minority's ruling all, merely because it is larger than any other minority—these schemes unduly emphasize what divides us, and tend to weaken our society's consensus, as was conspicuously exemplified in Weimar Germany. (b) Our *Senate* has been misled into trying to perform the executive function of appointment to inferior office and the actual conduct of foreign affairs. (c) The *filibuster* (originally meaning buccaneer or pirate) has become the system whereby an insignificant minority is allowed to bludgeon a majority into meek acceptance of defeat and humiliating impotence. (d) Rigid adherence to the *seniority* rule gives power with reference to uninterrupted reëlection rather than to brains or social value. We warn our popular sovereign: "Watch and pray, lest rule by seniority become rule by senility." (e) Another delicate topic today is that of *committees of inquiry*. Entirely apart from the process of loyalty-screening, and its present sickening if not paralyzing effect upon our quest for intelligent public officers, I make bold to suggest that notwithstanding the extremely un-American activity of one committee from which we now suffer, there have been in the past (and there must be again) congressional committees which earn the respect of honest men by their decent manners, their regard for legality, as well as their unique power of focussing the nation's attention.

(7) Our *presidency* has become an intolerably crushing burden, fantastic for one man's carrying. The selection of a man to be president is hopelessly bedevilled by absurd, anachronistic relics, the Electoral College of 1787 and the National Convention of 1832, both ancient devices now thrown hopelessly out of gear, and capable of bestowing that awful responsibility on a person unfit for leadership, perhaps even the man who won fewer popular votes than his rival, as happened in 1824, 1876, and 1888. The executive office is still inadequately provided with administrative power to coördinate action, or consultative agencies to harmonize policy, paralyzed by the want of law-making and finance power for achievement, save in the blinding blizzard of war. One looks forward hopefully to the recommendations momentarily expected from "Operation Hoover," the Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive, with its GHQ on K Street.

(8) *National* is a word which made its appearance only about a

century ago, when it signified an enlarging, ennobling inspiration, e.g., Mazzini preaching to his fellow Genoese that they quit parochial pettiness and regard themselves as Piedmontese, to Piedmontese and Florentines that they quit despising Neapolitans, that all should rise together in *Risorgimento* to become the Italian nation, a coöperating member of the European family. By the degeneration of that word, nationalism has become not the sap of life, but a poison of mutual fear and therefore of mutual hatred and cruelty, hardening readily into ambition for mastery, after the manner of that other demoralized word *empire*, which was by Dante declared holy, as meaning the rule of God's law, and is now anathematized by Hindu and Moslem, by Indonesian and Chinese; all insist on casting off the domination of empire, at whatever cost to order and peace.

(9) It is a favorite smug, self-deceiving remark of the moralist that "*force* settles nothing." But it was one of the most high-souled teachers of this generation, Lionel Curtis, who branded that dictum as "in open conflict with the facts," who even favored Admiral Mahan's phrase, "the province of force in human affairs is to give moral ideas time to take root." With Friedrich Meinecke, we conceive the "reason of state" as dual, coming from two Greek words, both *kratos* as the beginning and *ethos* as the end, force justifying itself by ceasing to be master, and becoming the servant of spirit. We *must* not succumb to militarism, yet we know that the soldier and the policeman are indispensable human equipment in a community which is only growing toward law-abidingness. We saw it in a gold-rush California, temporarily ruled by armed Vigilantes. The same is true of a would-be One World (economic and cultural), which by League of Nations and United Nations is feeling its way toward law and order. It depends upon coercion, by what Warren Austin calls "peace forces," as a last resort to control the recalcitrant, if they can understand no other tuition.

That, however, is not to say that military power is anything more than a tool. Allowing for certain exceptional ex-soldiers, from George Washington to George Marshall, the characteristic military mind is unfit for determining policy, is rarely useful even as a tool, save in its narrow specialty, the repelling of unlawful and hostile force.

(10) *International Responsibility.* Have two world wars left our nation only dimly aware of its world responsibilities for *pacificism*, that is, for making peace? Some, even senators, even scholars, ap-

peal nostalgically to a latent isolationism, unwilling to accept what they timorously call "commitments," their vaunted "sovereignty" meaning an uncurbed self-will, an anarchic lawlessness, which is a superstition as anachronistic as the ancient dogmas regarding witchcraft. We shamefully maintain a "color bar" of caste at home, and in Japan a neo-Shintoism that forbids "dangerous thoughts" (even by Americans in Japan)—all of which our law forbids but our practice condones, exposing us to the world's gibes that hypocrisy is a thing typically American.

Is federalism on the continental and world scale an impossible problem to solve, that is, a due organic relation of parts and whole, neither denying the other, by totalitarian imperialism or by parochial separatism? There is warning, but there is also encouragement, in the step-by-step federalizing experience of ancient Hellas, the Dutch Low Countries, the Swiss Confederation, the German Zollverein, Hapsburg Empire and British Commonwealth of Free Nations—and even our own federalizing experience, whose account is not yet all in. Let not the perfectionists, by their demanding world unification too much and too soon, thwart the practicable effort to achieve what can be achieved, when it can be achieved.

Pragmatically we experiment—peoples, the world's people, working things out together in concrete realms like communication, health, disaster relief, credit, restoration of productive power, a multitude of alphabetical agencies, official and unofficial—ECA, FAO, IRO, CARE, UNESCO, etc., etc.—useful conduct of affairs from which no state dares to absent itself in the long run, and thus deprive its own citizens of indispensable social services. A world that functions may well be expected gradually, patiently, to evolve a world government structure, the going concern not grandiosely dreamed up, but recognized when it has been enabled to come, and because it is a concern that goes on.

But meanwhile, let not America threaten the otherwise-minded, or insist on all men's thinking our thoughts after our manner; or condition our coöperative aid upon Britain's and the others' abandoning the socialism, or social democracy, or Christian democracy, or whatever it is, that suits their condition of mind and of economy.

(11) *Veto.* What a maze of misunderstanding clouds our thinking! The newspapers seem to regard it as a diabolical invention of Molotov. Have we read of Delaware's salutary vetoing of Virginia's Western imperialism in the 1770's, as well as Rhode Island's

and New York's obdurate vetoing of constitutional amendment in the 1780's? Do we realize how largely it is by our own doings at San Francisco in 1945 that the Veto stands in the United Nations Charter? Shall the razor be prohibited because it might become a foul murder weapon? Or sedatives because of the possibility of death by over-dose?

(12) *Xenophobia:* that is, fear, and therefore cruel hate, of what one regards as enemy, mainly because one is ignorant and bewildered by lack of sympathetic understanding. And be it remembered, this disease shows traces in both the Kremlin and our own State Department, and their relevant press. I refuse to say it is rampant, or raging; it can be brought under control.

In a world shaken by unprecedented revolutionary forces, our political psycho-physician conducts himself with serenity. To enlist the confidence and coöperation of the patient and his friends, the doctor discountenances talk whose tone is that of hysteria. A commercial press plays up the catchy headline, e.g., the "iron curtain," the "cold war," all-too-suggestive similes that lead public opinion far astray. The true physician will remind us that if we keep our heads and really think into our history we realize that for over a century Tsarist Russia was fully as much of a problem as is the Soviet of today. (And remember that Jeffersonian democracy, in the eyes of Wellington and Metternich, was an impious, impertinent nuisance; but they knew they had to "take it," and they did.) The Russian relation to the West has been a problem sometimes of opposition, sometimes of ambiguous coöperation: the suppression of Napoleon, James Monroe's veto upon Russian colonization in California, the Alaska Purchase, Siberian encroachment on Manchuria, the Triple Entente of 1908, the super-human Russian self-sacrifice in the Ukraine and at Stalingrad that stopped Hitler. We lived in the same world and somehow we learned to get along together. Mr. X—author of the famous article in *Foreign Affairs*, is no longer an unknown quantity. But some of us remember how very much of a known quantity was the *Century Magazine's* George Kennan in the 1890's, as he described the horrors of "Tent Life in Siberia"—and yet America and Russia got along, and even coöperated to good effect in the Hague Peace Conferences. Even today there is considerable exchange of valued ideas, our importation of Tolstoy, Tchaikovsky, Mendelyeev, Pavlov, theirs in turn of Henry Ford's assembly line and F. W. Taylor's "scientific management."

As the opening of our great West, from the Ohio River to Chicago and beyond, was a task inspiring the rivals, Virginia and New England, to nation-unifying common effort—so in our generation the development of atomic power (the world's newest effective method of "going West") may well be a symbol of the common tasks, under world-community control, for the peace-making purposes of all nations, who learn to hang together lest all hang separately, the Soviet Union—and we—no more willing to stay out than were North Carolina and finally even Rhode Island in 1789–90.

Seeing red does nobody any good, whether that red-seeing be of sympathy or of antipathy. What we need is the scientist's cool vision of reality, awareness that diplomatic adjustment is always possible and necessary. It may involve what ivory-tower moralists condemn as compromise and second- or third-best arrangements, like the bloody mess that the surgeon has to expect and endure, and even himself produce in his operations, to save life and improve health. Perhaps our medical adviser would tell us that what we chiefly need is the wit to build up our world body politic's endurance, or "power of resistance," as the doctor calls it. Which does not mean what our headline writers call "getting tough"; it may be "patience mingled with firmness"; and, let us add, qualified by imagination really to appreciate the other's view. Both Molotov and Marshall are inadequately supplied with expert, conscientious, far-seeing, and deep-seeing assistants. (Think of Vyshinsky, a prosecuting attorney, pitch-forked into diplomacy; and then think also, modestly and realistically, of some of our own diplomatic and radio-journalistic personnel.) We both lack a morally stable public opinion, as power behind diplomacy's throne; whether one refers to a Politburo, embarrassed by intolerably far-reaching and mutually contradictory tasks, or to our own public opinion, with its cross purposes, recently made especially tangled by a presidential election, and always hampered by a constitutional mechanism that seems designed to produce more friction than action, brakes galore, with a minimum of motive power and of devices for the accurate meshing of gears.

Returning from the mechanical to our medical metaphor, we say with Aristotle "nothing too much." No treatment that is not nicely adjusted to this specific patient, this specific need at this specific moment. Yet our clinical director, avoiding rash experiments, well aware of the absurdity of panaceas, is always eager to find possibilities for improving health, regard being had to potentialities that can be realized by operation or medication—glandular secretions, for example, which need thyroid or vitamin pills for restoring due balance, white and red corpuscles for hematologists to count, and to curb or reinforce by pharmaceutical means.

These pathological factors call for courageous dealing. None of what Churchill calls the "ceaseless chatter of well-meant platitudes." No waiting for the *vis medicatrix Naturae* (Nature's power to heal); for here is where man's Nature is Art, or contrivance; and art simply does not happen for those who wait for something to turn up. Time presses. There must be no delay, no dilettante, amateurish indifference.

In conclusion, I cite two dicta, post-dated texts for my homily. One is from that living wonder of the world, Albert Schweitzer, exemplar of what a real man can be—Alsatian equally beloved by Germans and Frenchmen, master *summa cum laude* of Christian theology, of Bach's music and of organ-building, yet most devotedly of all the "beloved physician" of equatorial Africa. With theological and musical Europe at his feet, he freely bound himself to a life of service to the suffering African, gladly doing his bit in atonement for the wrongs white men have wreaked upon black. Here is his word:[2]

> "Judging by what I have learned about men and women, I am convinced that there is far more in them of idealist will-power than ever comes to the surface of the world. Just as the water of the streams we see is small in amount compared to that which flows underground, so the idealism which becomes visible is small in amount compared with what men and women bear locked in their hearts, unreleased or scarcely released. To unbind what is bound, to bring the underground waters to the surface: mankind is waiting and longing for such as can do that."

My very last word is from the late Lord Acton, that beau ideal of nineteenth-century historical scholarship, one of all history's greatest believers in the trinity of truth, religion, and liberty. A devout Roman Catholic, yet conscientiously contesting the Vatican Decrees of 1870, he greeted his German colleague and friend, Döllinger, with a clarion call to faith. For us, it is a call for faith in science: *sanabilibus laboramus malis;* which is to say, "We are hard at work on evils that can be cured."

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[2] Albert Schweitzer, *My Life and Thought*, p. 114.

WALTER BAGEHOT AND LIBERAL REALISM

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In the decline of his life, a disappointed man might well ask himself what destiny would have held in store for him if at some crucial juncture of his maturity he had accepted the earnest advice of a solicitous friend or even of a keen-sighted foe. Today liberalism is confronted with a similar question. It is on the defensive in all parts of the Western world except in the United States. Even there its position is deceptive. Perhaps it survives tenuously under the artificial protective canvas of postwar inflation. Today one can hardly question this threatened eclipse of liberalism. Because of this foreboding, disturbing questions haunt the liberal[1]. What deficiency in liberalism is leading to the abandonment of its tenets throughout Europe? Was there counsel offered and ignored in the past which might have retarded the infirmities of age?

The answer to the first question has long been apparent. Yet in practice contemporary liberalism, both of the progressive and nineteenth-century varieties, has never assimilated its essential meaning. Following the French Revolution and the English Reform Act, liberalism began its long history of divorcing theory from practice. In the splendor of Victorian industrial success, this separation was not driven into the consciousness either of the intellectual leaders or of the people. But with the tension, domestic and international, of the eighties, liberals themselves, like T. H. Green and then Hobhouse, undertook the task of correcting some of the glaring discrepancies between the doctrine and the reality. In the light of the basically abstract character of liberalism, these collectivist renovations now appear like amateurish tinkering with a vastly complex apparatus.

Liberal doctrine had indeed long been suffering from a negative attitude toward the state. But this was simply a diagnostic symptom of an even deeper defect: liberalism's unconscionable indifference to the material conditions of society, and its ensuing failure to put its theories to the test of the social reality. Liberalism had been born with this excessively doctrinaire trait. At its birth, democratic liberal doctrine had proclaimed the need for human freedom, equality, and for self-government of the people, but it had failed to examine the conditions under which these desired ends might be realized. In keeping its gaze aloof from the raw facts of social life, liberalism could maintain that with the formal equality of all before the law, with the extension of suffrage to the broad masses of the people, and with the emergence of constitutional order, aided in modern times by social services provided out of the social income, there would arise a prosperous, contented, and united community.

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[1] See especially A. D. Lindsay, *Modern Democratic State* (New York, 1943); J. H. Hallowell, *Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology* (London, 1946); W. A. Orton, *The Liberal Tradition* (New Haven, 1945); "Politics and Ethics—A Symposium," in this Review, Vol. 40, pp. 283–313 (1946).

It would be misleading to suggest that liberal abstractions and vague generalizations always lacked social content. Prior to the French Revolution and the Reform Act, although natural rights, self-rule, and equality were still general slogans, they also epitomized the expectations of an age that could not mistake their immediate practical meaning—in spite of Burke's denunciations of abstract principles as revolutionary trickery. These lofty principles were the intellectual levers against the predominant politics and ethics of a stifling mercantilist society. But when the middle class had won power, the contradiction in liberal theory lay exposed in all its nakedness. In the nineteenth century, the liberal, whether democratic or otherwise, could not offer a substantial hope that these ends, freedom, equality, and popular rule, would be realized. Liberal attachment to prevailing economic forms made this impossible. Nor even today can all liberals confidently hold out the hope that these ends of liberalism will be met within the limits of a buttressed free-enterprise economy. Freedom is specious without equal economic opportunity; equality is impossible where hereditary wealth exists; and popular control loses much of its meaning when wealth manipulates social policy and material welfare behind a veil of secrecy and economic autonomy.

This ambiguity in liberalism, which conceals the limitations in practice of one side of its personality from the hopeful speculation of the other, helps to account for its success at first in catching and its failure later to hold the imagination of Europe.

Reasons for liberalism's impending failure can be grasped more securely if we attempt to answer the second question. Did some liberals offer advice that might have delayed the progressive advance of the schizoid malady? Toward the close of the last century, a small group of liberal realists did discern its nature. Even though they called attention to it indirectly, they strove to implant in liberalism a consciousness of its own ambiguities. But because their corrective criticisms were imbedded in a welter of dubious values, and even less acceptable descriptive social analysis, they were in large part overlooked by the liberal world. What they had to say was in many cases empirically false; but the method they urged liberals to introduce into their mental habits was an innovation that might have staved off the decline of liberal doctrine.

Bagehot, Mosca, and Pareto represent the main current of this thought. To rescue liberalism from the bewilderment of its divided personality, they proposed the method of political positivism in its broadest sense. Positivism for them meant simply the use of scientific method to discover the social facts about the source of political power. In the light of these data, the liberals might decide whether it was possible to fulfill their values in practice if they were to continue to support the existing social order.

Positivism has been blamed for every conceivable sin committed by liberals. There is little need to look far to discover the reason why positivism is thus exposed to multiple attack. In its generic meaning, positivism covers a vast number of different scientific approaches; for science no less than philosophy has been atomized into schools. Some positivist thought is as unreal and abstract as liberalism. In fact, many liberals of the nineteenth century themselves, such as the utilitarians, would fall into the positivistic fold. In later times, few could exceed the vagueness and unreality of German juristic positivism as found in Jellinek and Laband. But where positivism became sociological in relation to politics, as in the case of Bagehot, Mosca, and Pareto, it offered liberalism a path by following which it might have preserved itself for many more years.

In this sense, the strength of positivism lay in its insistent concern with the social structure and the verifiable biological and psychological nature of men. It did not deny values, nor, if only on pragmatic grounds, did it necessarily, in relativist style, refuse to accept the superiority of some values over others. But it did insist upon testing values by the possibility of their fruition under the given social conditions. It did recognize the futility of asserting theories which required action indicated by science to lie beyond the margins of human will. Although these writers were themselves not fully aware of the nature of their own message for liberalism, in effect they were proclaiming that to survive as a doctrine appealing to the mind of men, liberalism must be anchored in the solid earth of the real and the possible. One of two alternatives existed. Liberalism might modify its values to the point where they could be realized under the necessary conditions of human nature and a free enterprise economy. The realists favored this alternative. The other alternative was implicit in their thinking: the values might be retained if by some miracle the conditions could be changed.

I. THE SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF THE ÉLITE

Walter Bagehot was one of the first liberals to recognize the contribution that positivism, in the broadest sense of scientific method in which I use it here, could make toward the renovation of liberalism into a viable doctrine. In this does his realism consist.

Faced with the growing movement for democratic reform in England, Bagehot feared that the extension of suffrage would sweep into power a ruling group whose incompetence would lead to the destruction of the nation. His fear of the results of popular suffrage inspired him to inquire into the nature of this liberal value and to use psychology and biology as the scientific instruments of his analysis. A value must be tested against reality before it is adopted. This is the implicit assumption of his major scientific work. If the conditions of social organization prevent the realization of the value, then the latter must be sacrificed. His prime question is, therefore: What are the conditions of existence? Do they permit self-government? It is worth while following his examination of this question quite closely, even though he does arrive at a negative conclusion.

His positivism leads him to anticipate the theory of the *élite* elaborated by the later sociological positivists, Mosca and Pareto. They argue that self-govenment is a chimera because real power lies in the hands of an *élite*, or, what for the élitists, as we may call Mosca and Pareto, is the same thing, a ruling class. The sociological analysis of the élitists led them to conclude that the final shape of society, its prosperity and its strength, all hinge on the kind of *élite* exercising power. By virtue of a similar method and a similar prejudice against popular suffrage, Walter Bagehot had, however, already anticipated the main line of élitist thought. With the élitists he contends that the *élite* is the determining variable in sympathy with which the domestic economy and international relations of a society fluctuate. For the sake of brevity in describing this doctrine, we may call it *political creativism,* and we may designate the élitists as *creativists.* In essence, their theory not only suggests that as the conditions of civilization change, we can observe corresponding transformations in the *élite.* It goes further. It argues that no force other than the ruling class is more decisive in causing or *creating* the conditions for the survival and prosperity of a society.

In less forceful, perhaps more ambiguous, but none the less unmistakable terms, Bagehot preceded the élitists in their thinking. In this, Bagehot's work, which has already claimed attention as one of the fountain heads of irrationalism in the twentieth century, promises further unusual significance and importance. His theory of the *élite* sharply demonstrates the contradiction between fact and value which he felt permeated the flourishing democratic liberal thought of his day. Put briefly, he was arguing that the liberal goal of self-government could never be realized in practice; that human psychology ordained the domination of society by an *élite*; and accordingly that liberalism ought to correct its theory by a healthy respect for the facts of social organization.

If it were generally accepted that Bagehot was an élitist in his thinking, then it would be sufficient to refer to the appropriate articles on the subject and pass on to discover the importance of his method for later liberalism. But the literature on Bagehot has overlooked his intrinsic intellectual link with later élitists. Accordingly, a large part of what immediately follows must be devoted to establishing the nature of this tie. The true grounds on which he tries to modify the values of liberalism should then become unmistakably clear. It will appear that although Bagehot's theory of the *élite* was wanting in empirical validity, nevertheless through it he was exhorting liberalism to scrutinize closely the social structure before advocating self-government or democracy as a value. He was implying that in this way liberalism could preserve its integrity as a doctrine sufficiently related to the social facts to keep the allegiance of men.

II. PROGRESS AND THE MIND

To attempt an unequivocal estimate of Bagehot's thought, one must be well fortified against the hazards of wending a way through labyrinths of ideas, dangerous in their intricate, insouciant pattern. At times it seems almost futile to attempt to retrace the same reasoning twice, as fruitless as to attempt, in Heraclitan manner, to step into the same stream of thought twice. Bagehot throws out ideas with such painless ease, and varies their nuance so unobtrusively with each occasion, that few thoughts when repeated seem to offer the same meaning. He seemed averse to planned, systematic exposition of conceptions, painfully worked over for consistency. Perhaps this was due in part to his journalistic activity, which gave form to most of his writings. His basic contributions to political philosophy, for example, appeared as a series of magazine articles, designed for immediate popular consumption and for reading at a sitting, even if the nineteenth century sat longer over its periodicals than we do over ours. Bagehot is supremely the speculator in ideas, the nervous, energetic, stockmarket type, rather than the patient banker of mental fortunes. As his most recent literary biographer has written, Bagehot in his essays "might be said to arrive at error by logic and at truth by instinct."[2]

Under the circumstances of such elusive thought, one might be forgiven if he looked for trends in ideas as much as for solid convictions. For Bagehot does not by any means fall decisively into the élitist fold; yet in his method and in many of his conclusions he displays a wide area of similarity to modern élitism.

For Bagehot, in his *Physics and Politics*,[3] progress depends entirely on the capacity of the cultural and intellectual social strata to set the proper example for human behavior. At times, it even appears that he identifies this upper class with a political *élite*. If this is the case, then Bagehot had really anticipated a crucial element in modern élitist thought.

A true son of the liberal enlightenment and a follower of the Comtean tradition, Bagehot considers progress essentially a mental process, the creation of new ideas which are transmitted to the minds of successive generations. Before a nation can accumulate an inventory of knowledge and morality, however, it must be capable of surviving in the conflict among groups. To survive, in turn, it must know how to unite its people in ordered obedience to law and yet provide sufficient freedom of thought and independence of action to stimulate its own intellectual improvement. Otherwise the stagnation from monolithic unity must ultimately lead to internal moral, and hence material, decay. Simply stated, the problem is: how to survive as a nation, united for action against external foes and freed from internal strife, and continue to maintain sufficient domestic freedom to stimulate intellectual growth.

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[2] W. Irving, *Walter Bagehot* (London, 1939), p. 87. For biographical, and also good political, material regarding Bagehot, see also Mrs. R. Barrington, *Life of Walter Bagehot* (London, 1914); B. Dexter, "Bagehot and the Fresh Eye," *Foreign Affairs*, Oct., 1945, p. 108. There is still to be written a comprehensive biography of Bagehot which will show the social and intellectual ties with his age.

[3] 11th ed. (London, 1896).

For Bagehot, the answer induced from observation of history is quite clear. Nations like England that have managed to survive in the international struggles, he argues, owe their success to the breeding of an instinct for obedience in the people. Over the ages, in accordance with the law of the transmission of acquired characteristics, in which Bagehot's generation believed, the process of natural selection weeds out those nations in which this instinct of cohesion fails to mature. But natural selection decrees, further, that having achieved national unity, those nations which permit the free development of knowledge and the free play of initiative will find themselves dominant in the struggle for survival.

In both stages of human evolution, when unity and then freedom are the hallmarks of the advancing civilization, Bagehot asserts, the intellectual stratum guarantees these conditions for survival. And at times, as Bagehot states his case, he appears to equate the intellectual segment of the population with the political *élite*. At any rate, progress is a function of a restricted class.

Bagehot arrives at this conclusion quite naturally from his views on human nature which, he thought, were induced in true scientific spirit. Man, he says, tends to imitate his fellows, especially those in a higher social rank. "The truth is that the propensity of man to imitate what is before him is one of the strongest parts of his nature."[4] Without this mimetic inclination, the leaders at an early stage in social evolution might never have succeeded in knitting together a durable society. The habit of imitation leads to the acceptance of the way of life first imposed on the community by force. Ultimately, obedience bows to instinct rather than to force alone. Instinct becomes the leaven for the "cake of custom," upon the strength of which the survival of a nation depends.

The object of the early "fixed polity,"[5] Bagehot writes, "is to create what may be called a *cake* of custom. All the actions of life are to be submitted to a single rule for a single object; that gradually created the 'hereditary drill' which science teaches to be essential, and which the early instinct of men saw to be essential too."[6] Men must be conditioned to a "preservative habit,"[7] an "inbred principle of discipline and of order."[8] The stronger the mimetic tendency in men, therefore, the better the chance for the group to endure. Having emerged successfully from this Darwinesque struggle, the nation can then afford to relax the requirements for complete unity within and permit such divergencies from the national type as will enable the group to improve further its chances of prevailing in the struggle of tooth and claw for existence. With free discussion and action, varying types arise which set new patterns for the national character and consequently for knowledge as well. Other members, as the result of their imitative natures,[9] tend to absorb these new modes of action. Knowledge spreads from the top down, from select individuals or groups to the whole community, and accounts for the advance of one nation over another. "The infection of imitation catches men in their inward and intellectual part—their creed. But it also invades men—by the most bodily part of the mind—so to speak—the link between soul and body—the manner. . . . We all know how a kind of subtle influence makes us imitate or try to imitate the manner of those around us."[10]

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[5] C. H. Driver, "Walter Bagehot and the Social Psychologists," in F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Victorian Age* (London, 1933), Chap. IX.

To confirm this original hypothesis, Bagehot advances a subsidiary theory of the "model" or "idol." In speaking of the early civilization, he points out that "at first a sort of 'chance predominance' made a model and then invincible attraction, the necessity which rules all but the strongest men to imitate what is before their eyes and to be what they are expected to be, moulded men by that model. . . . When once the predominant type was determined, the copying propensity of man did the rest."[11]

Throughout all societies, models succeed in establishing the forms of behavior. For causes which, Bagehot suggests, we as yet fail to understand, in some nations the stagnation latent in excessive unity yields to quiet and almost imperceptible change which we term progress. A new type or pattern arises in the population, this gives way to another, and if the sequence continues indefinitely evolution takes the place of static order. This is the value of the liberal society in which free exchange of ideas is permitted. Such tranquil change, however, is possible only in a society where the people have become thoroughly soaked in the habit of obedience, for otherwise the turmoil which might be associated with every transformation would lead to inestimably greater harm than good.[12] This had been the case in France, Bagehot felt, and only the establishment of a type by the sword of Louis Napoleon managed to save the situation in 1851.[13]

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

III. THE MIND OF THE FEW

According to Bagehot's science, progress therefore depends on the mental process of imitation. This psychological abstraction out of the complexities of social change represents Bagehot's first step on the road to political creativism. Formally at least, he would have agreed with Marx that "man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth."[14] Thus he does endeavor to avoid the charge of overplaying the rôle of any single force in the evolution of society, even that of human effort. To this end, in the opening pages of *Physics and Politics* he carefully sets forth his complete awareness that his approach is only a slight addition to the total theory of progress. "Everyone now admits," he writes, "that human history is guided by certain laws, and all that is here aimed at is to indicate, in a more or less distinct way, an infinitesimally small portion of such laws."[15] But his affirmation of plural causation falls by the wayside as he flies through the pages of his book. He feels free later to attribute, if not the exclusive, at least the vitally prominent, rôle in social change to representative individuals who collectively are the upper stratum.

A cultural, social *élite* is the vehicle for change, and its unique response to the total circumstances moulds the prevailing type of society. Bagehot had here absorbed one of the dominant themes in the thinking of the Victorian period. Both Carlyle and the English Comtists had looked in varying degrees to the extraordinary person to govern the course of history. The onsweeping current for increased participation by the mass of the people in political life had inspired a nervous reaction on the part of those who feared political democracy, or who thought they saw the incapacity of the people for solving the grim problems of industrialism. Some took refuge in the exemplary individuals upon whom, they insisted, society ought to rely for its salvation. Others felt too great an allegiance to the theory of constitutional liberties to sweep them entirely away in favor of the ambitious government of the self-appointed minority. These writers like Bagehot, who were profoundly moved by the Comtean positivistic and the heroic influences of their day, turned to more subtle ways of expressing the same irritation with the tendency to lean on the good sense and accomplishment of a vague people. Bagehot's response was the theory of the model. It contains the germ of political creativism which was to wax strong in later generations.

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

[13] Mrs. Russell Barrington, *Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*, in 9 vols. and *Life* in one (London, 1915), Vol. I, seven "Letters on the French Coup d'État." Bagehot was in his middle twenties when these were written, but he does not appear to have changed his views as he matured.

[14] Karl Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire.*

[15] *Physics and Politics*, p. 44.

While the theory of the model is not Janus-faced, at least it gives the appearance of a reasonable facsimile; it has one face which turns so rapidly that it appears to be gazing in opposite directions at the same time. From one direction, the model seems to be the intellectual *élite*. The intellectuals in all fields of endeavor, in religion, politics, and science, set the pattern which shapes the cake of custom around the people.[16] They are the leaders upon whom the people depend for improvement in each field of endeavor. But from the other direction, the effect of the multiplicity of intellectual activities on the social physiognomy has been wiped away. We can see only the countenance of the political *élite*. To this class is progress now bound, perhaps with a very thin strand still linking it to the other *élites*.

Of all models, Bagehot seems to think, the political has proved of paramount importance, since it has established free discussion or political liberty as the type-custom to which society is to conform. In the fixed stage of society, for example, what is wanted most is the proper kind of governing class, "an elevated *élite* (*sic*) who know the law: not a good government seeking the happiness of its subject, but a dignified and overawing government getting its subjects to obey. . . . "[17] In similar vein, he attributes the variable stage of society to the nature of the governing class. He does not deny that intellectual freedom, the inner spring of all improvement, can be attributed to a multitude of forces, such as trade, religious freedom, and colonization, "but perhaps in no case have these subsidiary causes alone been able to generate intellectual freedom; certainly in all the most remarkable cases the influence of discussion has presided at the creation of that freedom, and has been active and dominant in it."[18] This seems to suggest that the acquisition of liberty was predominantly the result of the actions of the political models and that once it had been accepted by them, then, in time, following the law of imitation, the rest of the nation would adhere to the same pattern.

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

This shift in the emphasis, from the intellectual to the political *élite* or governing class as the responsible mechanism for change, is not actually incongruous with Bagehot's thought. He clearly intends to equate intelligence with authority, although he means a special type of intelligence which is closely affiliated with property. Like Burke, he did not care a rap for the kind of intelligence which operates on *a priori* principles or which had not been well secured with the anchor of property to give it the experience and social moderation so necessary in rational government.

My argument hinges on the not too latent tendency in Bagehot's writings to shift the main merit or blame for the condition of a country to the national character as moulded by the combined educated and political *élite*. The *élite* moulds society, not society the *élite*. He berates the less voluntaristic views of history in which the individual plays a modest or even negligible part. "There is an odd idea that those who take what is called a 'scientific view' of history need rate lightly the influence of individual character. It would be as reasonable to say that those who take a scientific view of nature need think little of the influence of the sun. In the scientific view, a great man is a great new cause—new in all its effects and all its results. Great models for good and evil sometimes appear among men who follow them either to their improvement or degradation."[19] The "sometimes" is a qualification to his thought that is customary in his writings and slips in out of intellectual diffidence rather than conviction.

The practical political parts of his work where, in passing, he develops his philosophy of history help to explain more fully the meaning of his science.[20] There he envisions society as moving through periods of calm and tranquility during which explosive and convulsive energy is being stored up to break forth in a sudden upheaval. With a sudden spurt, society, which advances in a saltatory way, leaps forward to a new pattern and then a long period of calm, peaceful adjustment to the new customs ensues. Except for the premise of a vague need, there is no indication of the source of this hidden potential for change. The decisive factor seems to be the existence of the conservative and innovating personalities, each of which type emerges as the model in the proper epoch. It might have been arguable that vast "forces" generate the conditions into which an individual or group steps to carry out the historical destinies of a people, but this clearly cannot be inferred from Bagehot's total thought. For him, society stands still until the *élite* acts.

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 177. [19] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

[20] *Works*, essay on "The Chances for a Long Conservative Régime in England," 1874, Vol. VII.

Bagehot, who was by no means naive either as an historian or as a philosopher, often hints in passing that perhaps the actor is conditioned by the times. But he never quite lends himself permanently to this or to any one kind of interpretation. His thought is like a pliant spongy mass which when pressed on one side protrudes on the other. When prodded as a political creativist, the limiting social elements on human behavior begin to swell out. Within the limits of his own overly flexible way of thinking, it is not an unfair generalization to attribute to him excessive emphasis on the rôle of a minority class in social action. This in turn is closely associated with the use of the scientific scalpel of psychology on human behavior. He begins by fixing on the mind as the vehicle of change, and ends by implying that the cause of change is largely a function of the mind of the governing class.[21]

IV. BAGEHOT'S AMBIVALENCE

To this point, it appears that Bagehot's science of politics has led him to conclude that the facts of social organization make impossible the fulfilment of democratic ends. On this ground, one would expect him to fight against popular suffrage as a will-o'-the-wisp unattainable in practice. But the truth is that while, on the one hand, he did elevate the rational political class to a fundamental determining force in history, on the other, he did not feel it contradictory to find that the masses, when imbued with a certain kind of national character, might themselves seize destiny in their grasp.

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[21] The exact composition of Bagehot's governing class appears in the *English Constitution*, where in scattered form he elaborates his views on the stratification in English society.

This discrepant fissure in his thought appears at its widest in contrasting *Physics and Politics* with *The English Constitution* (and other political essays), even though both were conceived, if not partly written, simultaneously. In the one, in scientific vein he leaves the firm impression that an intellectual-political group emerges naturally in the course of history to obtain state and social power. In the other, while he does not deny the premises of his psychological book and, in fact, adduces further evidence in its favor, he does, nevertheless, shift his ground more than slightly. Now, as a philosopher, he seems to be arguing, not that an *élite* will arise, but that if a nation desires good government, it ought to pave the way for such a class by developing the proper character in its people. What was at first, in the positivist vein, a law of history now becomes a mere possibility. And since the future has been reduced from the inevitable to the probable or possible, what previously had been necessary now becomes desirable. In this way Bagehot automatically implies that in certain times and places classes other than an *élite* might shape the character of history.

This is a dualistic element in Bagehot's thought. It arises in part out of his efforts to stem the revival of democratic doctrines in England which had not spent their force even after the deliquescence of Chartism. The northern industrialists, extremely dissatisfied with their virtual exclusion from the legislature by the results of 1832, could not rest content until they obtained at least a redistribution of parliamentary seats, and, for these big stakes, they were willing to play with dynamite if necessary. Under the strategy of Bright, some were even willing to swell their numbers with the working class, and to this end they raised the cry of representation by population. They hoped, of course, that the paternalistic relations which Bright himself found possible with the workers in his own factory would continue in the political field.[22]

Bagehot, one of the most strikingly class-conscious in the ruling class of his day, spotted the hidden serpent. If the electoral settlement of 1832 were to be disturbed, he foresaw the danger of unilateral domination of the parliamentary machinery by the lower classes. He was not unsympathetic to the cause of the northern industrialists, but he saw through their transparent maneuvers with sinking heart. What you want, he cried, is not a genuine democracy after Rousseau, even if that were desirable, but a "capitalist democracy,"[23] one in which the people will act on behalf of your interests as much as for their own. Let me warn you, in effect he said, that if you give these ignorant and uncultivated masses of people an equal vote with the *élite*, the latter will be swamped, with you included, and your capitalist democracy will turn into mobocracy in the worst form ever depicted by Plato or Aristotle. Order, the very essence of and reason for society, will disappear and with it may vanish the nation itself. Far preferable to allow the unwise adjustments of 1832 to stand as they are and make other arrangements, than to tamper now in such a way as to bring us near to this catastrophe.

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[22] See G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (New York, 1913).

The importance of this attack on popular suffrage is not that Bagehot then passes on to show how no group in fact governs itself, or that all government is domination by the few and that history is a record of their struggles. Such an argument would indeed throw him directly into the camp of later élitists. The evidence is that Bagehot does believe that the people, or even the masses, can and do choose their administrators in the exercise of plenipotentiary powers. That is, he accepts the real meaning behind Rousseau's phrase about the sovereignty of the people, which modern élitism has undertaken to refute. The important fact is that he does not accept the rule by the masses as desirable, as we have already indicated. In the *American Constitution at the Present Crisis*,[24] he condemned the American form of government on the ground that the people rule themselves with catastrophic results. His argument then would be not that the people are incapable of self-government, but that it is desirable to introduce on their behalf government by an *élite*. Good government is government by a minority in contrast with the numerical majority.

It is possible to resolve the apparent contradiction between the political creativism of *Physics and Politics* and its evident denial, in part at least, in his other political essays. Apparently in the former Bagehot must have been experiencing a very common failing among positivist theorists. He was presumably attempting to analyze the forces that have made for progress in the Western world, as against the stagnation of the East; but in the process of the analysis he very subtly intrudes his own value in a study that was intended to take account only of the facts. What he intended to present as a universal law of development turns out to be nothing less than a particular description, cast in generalized terms, of the history of England to his own day.

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[23] Bagehot uses this term in *Essays on Parliamentary Reform* (London, 1883), Essay 1 (1859).

[24] *Works*, Vol. III.

The progress or degeneration of Western nations had depended on the rise of a rational *élite* and the subordination of the masses, a relationship which had been assured by the laws of biology and psychology, the transmission of acquired traits and imitation. But it turns out in the *English Constitution* and in other essays that this is not a constant phenomenon visible everywhere. In America and France, in particular, whatever development or regression has taken place seems to have occurred in spite of the failure of a governing *élite* to rise.

There is perhaps a satisfactory explanation for Bagehot's failure to take into account the particular exceptions before trying to induce laws of progress. Underlying *Physics and Politics* is the unexpressed view that the English form of life and society is by far the most advanced and desirable in the world. This assumption stands out starkly in the *English Constitution*, where he takes great pains to prove the inferiority of the American presidential system and, in fact, shows a critical attitude toward the American governmental structure which increased rather than diminished in succeeding years. With this view governing his selection of material, he seems to draw on English experience in the modern period for the data to establish his sweeping inductions. We must remember that he was writing at the time when the ascendant star of English industrial and commercial expansion was reaching its zenith. The *pax Britannica* was spreading round the world. It was not strange, therefore, that survival in international relations would appear to him to be the prerequisite for flourishing domestic conditions; and he could easily attribute English external success to the aptitude and initiative of the middle class, joined by the aristocracy, who together compose the *élite*.

With this in mind, we are now in a position to rephrase, on a more limited note, the apparently universal conclusions of *Physics and Politics*. Evidently what Bagehot really means is that an *élite* of his description is a condition precedent for the emergence and survival of a powerful and industrially advanced nation. An *élite* is inevitable if the nation is to persist. This leaves us with the not unmistaken corollary that Bagehot could find little hope for the emergence of the United States as a powerful nation until it had developed a satisfactory governing class. Since the United States had just concluded an exhausting civil war, this notion might not seem unnatural to an English observer. The point is, though, that in *Physics and Politics* Bagehot's original contention that an *élite* does arise to unify and promote or *retard* the nation does not apply to the United States (or France), where weakness and internal discord have been the products of popular, not élitist, rule. With these vast exceptions, the scientific validity of his original conceptions collapses, even though he neither recognized nor admitted it. Recognition of it here, however, does help us to understand why he devotes so much effort to proving the incompetence of the masses for popular government.

My point is, therefore, that Bagehot at first offers the scientific theory that all social change, toward either good or bad ends, depends upon the kind of models, especially political, which establish the pattern for national behavior. But on second thought, without a word of explanation, he retracts this initial theory and gives us a new one in which he claims that only progressive nations, after the style of England, are led by a governing class. This is a substantially new doctrine, the evidence for which he might have infinitely more difficulty in assembling than he did for his first, in which he claimed that even degeneration depended upon the nature of the leaders. In his diatribes against popular representative democracy, he loses the positivistic calm of his psychological work and places all the blame for decay on the masses and all the praise for progress on the ruling class. The *élite*, which in *Physics and Politics* might have been either good or bad, now turns out to be only advantageous to a nation. Similarly, where an *élite*, either good or bad, had been inevitable, now it becomes simply a possibility if one wishes to achieve the best kind of government.

V. HOLLOW POSITIVISM

We have seen the pronounced rôle that science in the form of psychology plays in Bagehot's doctrines. It provides the basis for his conviction that the governing class, together with other sections of the cultural *élite* of society, sets the pattern for the rise and decline of society.

It was not, however, Bagehot's views of democracy that were new. They were borrowed to a large extent from Burke. They resembled, too, the paternalistic elements in Disraeli's Tory democracy, although Bagehot lacked Disraeli's acute perception that power must be shared to some extent with the laboring people. But Bagehot went further than Burke or Disraeli, and in this lies his élitism. In truth, his views are a neat blend of the philosophy of Burke with the new science of his own day. One is not superimposed on the other in an artificial structure for the simple reason that psychology permitted Bagehot to find weighty arguments for conservatism, more convincing for days when repetition of Burke's conservatism had worn its effectiveness rather thin and when sophistication was beginning to demand scientific corroboration even for statements in politics. The high winds crossing the Channel had borne with them the sobering positivistic spirit of Comte, and Bagehot was conforming to the methodological exactions of the new age by dressing up an old doctrine in new clothes. In this lies his originality, not in the exact political content of his theories.

What we must search for is not the conservative liberalism of Bagehot, although that is interesting in itself since Bagehot does not adopt Burke without adding to him, but the psychological and biological basis of that conservatism. His absorption of Burke also helps to explain why Bagehot has expressed his philosophy in so piecemeal a fashion; it has to be dug out of his scattered articles, hidden there as though he were embarrassed about confessing that Burke was his intellectual godfather. In *Physics and Politics*, he seems suddenly to realize that he has advanced beyond Burke because he has at hand knowledge about the psychic part of man which was not available to his predecessor. The amazing thing in reading Bagehot is that he has managed to absorb the essence of Burke so thoroughly—his suspicions of analytical reason, his trust in expediency, his arrogance toward the bulk of the people, his admiration of the nobility, the great oaks of civilization—that he seldom thinks it worth while to acknowledge his debt. His chancing, in the light of the most recent physiological studies, on the importance of man's mind in the building of a community and the maintenance of its coöperative structure relieved him of the obligation.

Bagehot's style is a supple instrument in his hands, and his mastery of words makes it difficult at times to determine the inward mood of the man as against the impression that he consciously wishes to convey. But even this subtle barrier does not suffice to conceal the glow of satisfaction that forces its way into the pages of his psychological work. There he seems to feel that finally he has added something constructive to his Burke-ism and thereby to our speculation on the nature of political man. The very opening paragraph of the book reveals his contented self-consciousness in breaking new ground.

"One peculiarity of this age," he writes,"is the sudden acquisition of much physical knowledge. There is scarcely a department of science or art which is the same, or at all the same, as it was fifty years ago. A new world of inventions—of railways and telegraphs—has grown up around us which we cannot help seeing; a new world of ideas is in the air and affects us, though we do not see it. A full estimate of these effects would require a great book, and I am sure that I could not write it; but I think I may usefully, in a few papers, show how, upon one or two great points, the new ideas are modifying the two old sciences—politics and political economy. Even upon these points my ideas must be incomplete, for the subject is novel; but, at any rate, I may suggest some conclusions, and so show what is requisite even if I do not supply it."[25]

In adding psychology to his conservatism, Bagehot had done more than merely add a new coat of paint to an old structure. He implied a new meaning which I have identified as creativist. If progress is intellectual, he seems to say, then in turning to the nature of that process we see that the intellect of one group outshines that of the rest of society. Differentiation turns into superiority in social function. The select psychological group appears to shape the conditions of society as a whole. Psychology implies creation by the talented.

In Bagehot, Burke's hostility to the people, to democracy, takes on a more ominous aspect. Burke at least had spoken boldly and clearly in terms of values. The ignorant people would lead human culture to the precipice of destruction if once they laid hands on the reins of government. On the other hand, Bagehot with equal pains strove to envelop his conservative values in a mist of science. Necessity, not desire, relegated the people to the byways of social change while the *élite* strode along the highways. And in this appeal to science to confirm the old conservative fear and hatred of the people, Bagehot led the way for the later élitists.

VI. CONCLUSION

The manifest weakness of Bagehot's positivist theory ought not to mislead us into discarding, with the unsubstantiated parts of it, his suggestive methodological hints. This has indeed been the fate which later generations meted out to Bagehot's work. Contemporary political writers have been primarily concerned with Bagehot's place as a critic of the utilitarian rational man. This interest has led them to ignore the way in which Bagehot had anticipated a good deal of later élitist theory. But when we do come to discern in

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[25] *Physics and Politics*, p. 1.

Bagehot the first glimmerings of élitism, it is insufficient to characterize this theory as hopelessly wrong.

The shortcomings of the theory must, of course, be acknowleged. In the first place, Bagehot builds it upon insufficient evidence. It is a suggestion for further investigation, a working hypothesis, rather than an empirical theory, fully proved. There is little likelihood that sustained and rigorous investigation could verify this hypothesis. The condition of society at any time manifestly depends upon more than the character and activities of a ruling group.

In the second place, one could challenge the very conception of the ruling class which Bagehot offers. He fails to indicate precisely the criteria—whether of power, wealth, or social distance—which would distinguish the class of rulers from that of the ruled. He seems to suggest that the exercisers of power, *ipso facto*, constitute a governing class. If the concept is used in this sense, it is doubtful whether Bagehot is justified in applying the term "class" to them. The mere possession of power need not separate a group so rigidly from the rest of the population that it assumes the character of a ruling class. Rulers may have status or social distance without being divided from the rest of the population by class lines. I do not mean by this that there was no ruling class in Bagehot's England. I simply wish to suggest that the distinguishing feature of this class was its position in the economy, on the market place. This control over economic institutions gave it political power which often lay beyond the margins of popular control, even with universal suffrage. Possession of political power alone does not create a class differentiated from those who do not exercise authority directly. It is the possession of such power by a group which, because of its economic position, eludes popular control that transforms that group into a dominating class. In speaking so freely about a ruling class whose differentia he had failed to indicate in precise terms, Bagehot had strayed from the clarity which his own scientific standards ought to have led him to observe more consistently. This confusion in terminology adds no little difficulty to an already nebulous doctrine.

In the third place, the social origin of his views makes them even more suspect. Plato's ethical arguments against democracy had exhausted their potency by the nineteenth century, at least for those who had been influenced by the vast positivistic movement set in motion by the mighty scientific triumvirate, Comte, Marx, and Spencer. Quite innocently, Bagehot seems to have set out to find arguments in scientific method for the reduction of popular influence on government. In the recesses of his mind, there lurked the desire to vindicate Plato's contention that the salvation of society would depend in large part upon the selection of the proper governing class. But in place of Plato's ethical tirades against the people, he substituted scientific arguments based upon biology and psychology. He counted on proving, first, that the people could not rule themselves under any circumstances, and second, that in fact empirical investigation and rational verification reveal the decisive significance of the ruling class for society. In this way he could confidently turn his back on the whole movement for social and economic democracy.

After carefully noting these weaknesses in his élitism, democratic liberal thought might nevertheless have salvaged from it a methodological hint vital for the very survival of liberal doctrines. Bagehot was advocating more than a revision in the substance of liberal theory. He was exhorting liberals to transform themselves into realists, to convert their wishful thinking and utopianism to liberal realism. In effect, he was urging that a theory which runs up against the stone wall of reality without stopping to chart a new course must ultimately be shattered by its own obstinacy. He urged further that to discover the limits which the social structure imposes on political techniques and reforms, the liberal must turn to the laborious task of rigorous empirical study of society. Bagehot's own work was indeed more speculative than empirical, and accordingly he failed to meet the specifications of his own announced method. But even if he set a poor example, he did at least teach a vital lesson. The virtue, therefore, of this early political positivism lay not in the conclusions that it drew from its application of science to society, but in its encouragement to penetrate the veil of the pure abstraction, self-government, to a study of the conditions under which and the extent to which it could be realized. In this way, ends could be tempered to bring them into harmony with the unalterable facts; or if the social facts could be modified, then the means for implementing one's values could be discovered.

From his own studies, Bagehot could draw only one conclusion. So enamoured was he of the existing state of things that he could not even think of advocating their change. Therefore when he saw that the two variables, facts and values, stood in implacable opposition to each other, values had to yield to the facts of social life. If human nature dictated rule by an *élite*, then liberal theory must change. If, however, Bagehot's loyalties had been more strongly attached to the traditional values of Western civilization, he might have been less eager to sacrifice the desire to increase popular control over the rulers.

But implicit in the conclusion forced on him by his own predilections as a banker and merchant is the suggestion that social fact and political ends must be brought into harmony if a doctrine is to survive. It is this message that has significance for the liberal today. Liberalism is confronted with a glaring discrepancy between the end of self-government and the facts of the social structure. The real problem confronting the undictatorial areas of the Western world today in their domestic affairs is how to transfer a larger share of political control to the people. The liberal goal of self-government is far from realized under conditions in which vast accumulations of wealth and economic power leave their impact on the political structure.

Liberals, of course, have become increasingly aware of this fact. They assiduously study the social structure in many of the social sciences. But there seems to be a wide and deep chasm between the findings of these sciences and their incorporation into the body of active liberal thought. With some notable exceptions, even the most progressive of liberals still tend, in their political behavior, not to ignore so much as gingerly to step round the facts about the nature of the social order and their relation to the distribution and exercise of political power. Today, knowledge about these problems is accessible. Yet today, in a world that demands direction in concrete terms, liberalism continues, in nineteenth-century vein, to speak too frequently about popular control in abstractions which have lost their sense of immediacy and reality.

Two decades ago, Ruggiero, a profound observer, drew attention to the liberal habit of speaking in "academic abstractions."[26] Since the end of the war, we are threatened with another liberal inundation of lofty principles with scant attention devoted to the crucial problem of how they are to be realized. When a doctrine thus loses touch with immediate needs, when it no longer serves as a rational guide for concrete action toward its own fulfilment, it is well on its way to the ideological scrapheap of history. This is the warning of Bagehot's liberal realism.

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[26] G. de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism* (Eng. trans., London, 1927), p. 427.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

UNIFICATION OF THE ARMED FORCES—THE FIRST YEAR

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Somewhat more than a year has passed since James Forrestal took the oath of office as first Secretary of Defense on September 17, 1947. While it is still too early to pass final judgment on the effectiveness of the National Security Organization, sufficient time has elapsed to take some measure of the vast scope of problems it faces, and of the soundness of the foundations upon which it rests.

The National Security Act of 1947,[1] under which the new organization was created, was one of the most thoroughly studied pieces of legislation to come out of the war. In that act, Congress indicated its purpose as being "to provide a comprehensive program of the future security of the United States."[2] The act did not merge the Army and Navy into a single Department of Defense as many had hoped, but it did provide administrative machinery for establishing integrated policies and procedures for those agencies of the federal government primarily concerned with the national security.

The most important single fact about the National Security Act was that it did much more than merely reorganize the Armed Forces. Indeed this was the essential difference between the two reorganization plans sponsored during 1945–47 by the Army and the Navy. The Army's plan, drafted by Lt. General J. Lawton Collins and his staff, and frequently referred to as the "Collins Plan," proposed a single "Department of the Armed Forces" with a Secretary at its head. The Navy's proposal went much farther. A brief description of the two plans may not be amiss, since they explain some of the problems that the National Security Organization has encountered during its first year of operation.

The Army's plan,[3] in general, followed the pattern of organization of the War Department. The three services—Army, Navy (including the fleet air arm), and Air Force—were to be established as separate entities, each organization under a military chief of staff who would report to a single Chief of Staff for the Armed Services. The latter, in turn, would be responsible to a civilian Secretary for the Armed Forces. There would be functional assistant secretaries and an under secretary. The military chiefs, together, would form the United States Chiefs of Staff, and would have the right to make recommendations on military policy, strategy, and budget requirements. The budget recommendations of the Chiefs of Staff would "be submitted through the Secretary of the Armed Forces, who would be required to transmit them, without modification, to the President."[4] Obviously, under this plan the power and authority of the civilian secretary would be severely limited, particularly over the military budget, a most important administrative control device.

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* The author served as consultant to the Under Secretary of the Navy during 1945–48 while preparing an administrative history of the Navy Department during World War II, and also during the summer of 1948 as a member of the staff of the Committee on National Security Organization, one of the task forces created by the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Departments.

[1] 61 Stat. 495.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sec. 2.

[3] *Hearings on Department of Armed Forces* (S. 84), Committee on Military Affairs, Senate, 79th Cong., 1st sess., Oct.–Dec., 1945.

It must be admitted, however, that there is little agreement on how to make civilian control over a military department really effective. At present, the Chief of Staff of the Army, acting in the name of the Secretary, has not only military but also broad administrative authority. While this system has the advantage of centering authority and responsibility in a single individual, it is frequently said that the civilian Secretary is isolated from routine operations of the Department. Usually the civilian Secretary is confronted with a *fait accompli* that he can either reject or accept, but since normally he does not take part in the negotiations leading up to an administrative decision, his choice is limited. In theory, a Chief of Staff who tendered what proved, in the course of time, to be bad advice, could be removed; but the very eminence of his position as head of the military hierarchy makes such action unlikely.

The Navy's plan for a National Security Organization was based upon a totally different concept of civilian control. It was largely the work of Ferdinand Eberstadt and a small staff, most of whom were reserve officers, aided by civilian specialists.[5] Eberstadt, an investment banker from New York City, had served in a number of important posts during World War II. In 1941, at the request of Under Secretaries Patterson and Forrestal of the War and Navy Departments, respectively, he studied the machine-tool problem and made suggestions that broke the bottleneck in production. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, he reorganized the Army and Navy Munitions Board and became its first chairman. In September, 1942, he was named vice-chairman of the War Production Board, where he was largely instrumental in drafting and putting into effect the Controlled Materials Plan.

Eberstadt, consequently, was not a newcomer to the Washington scene. On the contrary, he was thoroughly familiar with the existing military organization and its problems. His plan forcibly rejected the idea of a single chief of staff at the top of the military hierarchy with over-all military and administrative responsibility. Instead, he proposed direct civilian control of fiscal matters (including the budget), personnel, legislation, and public relations. To this extent, he followed the existing pattern of the Navy Department organization.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[5] *Report to James Forrestal on Unification of the War and Navy Departments*, Committee on Naval Affairs, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate print, Oct. 22, 1945.

But the Eberstadt plan differed from the Collins proposal in a more fundamental way. It was built on much broader foundations than a mere reorganization of the armed forces. It provided for new staff agencies to correlate national defense and foreign policies, to evaluate intelligence data, and to coördinate civilian and industrial mobilization.

In the compromise which finally emerged in the National Security Act of 1947, the broad outlines of the Eberstadt plan were followed with little change. The whole administrative structure provided by the act was called the National Security Organization. The National Military Establishment, under a single civilian Secretary of Defense,[6] was made part of this Organization; and in the Military Establishment were placed three service departments—the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force—each under a civilian secretary.

In addition, the act provided for the three staff agencies recommended by the Eberstadt plan. The National Security Council, composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and the Secretaries of the three military departments, meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the United States, was to correlate defense and foreign policies.[7] For this organization, Eberstadt consciously took as his guide the British Committee of Imperial Defense.[8] The National Security Council was to have a permanent staff under an executive secretary. The Central Intelligence Agency was established under the cognizance of the Council to evaluate and interpret the information collected by various government intelligence agencies.

The industrial mobilization agency was named National Security Resources Board. It was composed of the heads of such of the executive departments and independent agencies as might be named by the President and had a civilian chairman. This Board now includes, besides its chairman, Arthur Hill, the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor.

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[6] The act did not formally establish an "Office" of the Secretary of Defense, although the term is commonly used today.

[7] The act also permits the President to designate, as additional members of the Council, heads of the other executive departments, the chairman of the Munitions Board, and the chairman of the Research and Development Board.

[8] For discussions of the British defense organization, see *White Paper on Defense* (Cmd. 6743), Feb., 1946, and Central Organization for Defense (Cmd. 6923), Oct., 1946.

The National Military Establishment, operating under the direction of the Secretary of Defense, comprised, besides the three service departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Munitions Board, and the Research and Development Board. Although the titles, in general, are fairly indicative of the work performed, the functions of the agencies will be considered in somewhat more detail below. The Secretary of Defense was authorized to "establish general policies and programs for the National Military Establishment . . . ; exercise general direction, authority, and control over such departments . . . ; take appropriate steps to eliminate unnecessary duplication or overlapping in the fields of procurement, supply, transportation, storage, health, and research . . . ; formulate and determine the budget estimates . . . ; and supervise the budget programs of such departments . . . ."[9]

The new National Security Organization is said to have some of the aspects of federalism. All powers not given to the Secretary of Defense are retained by the respective military departments—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force.[10] The Secretaries of the three departments have a right of appeal to the President, and may present to him any report or recommendation concerning their departments that they deem necessary.[11]

In understanding the problems of the first year of unification, it is important to keep constantly in mind the fact that a bitter interservice struggle preceded the passage of the act. Many of the same people who had taken sides in this dispute now were called upon to put the act into effect. As one might expect, scars of the conflict still remain. There are many individuals who nostalgically recall the "good old days" when each service went its separate way, and on the other hand there are those who deride the possibility of any accomplishment until a single military department has been created. Neither group could be expected to try energetically to make the present act work.

In this situation, much depended upon the character and abilities of the first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal. For seven years prior to his appointment, he had served with great distinction as Under Secretary and Secretary of the Navy. Probably no one had done more to improve the administrative organization and procedures of the Navy Department. He had modernized its methods of doing business and had been chiefly responsible for centering effective administrative controls in the Secretary's office.

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[9] The National Security Act, Sec. 202.

[10] *Ibid.*, Sec. 202 (a). [11] *Ibid.*

When he embarked on his new task as Secretary of Defense, on September 17, 1947, he had only the language of the new statute with which to operate. He had no office, no staff, no manuals of procedure, and no detailed work program. Business, however, began to flow into his office, and important decisions had to be made almost from the day he took oath.

Secretary Forrestal had two alternative courses of action open to him. He could exercise his statutory authority to the limit and effect an immediate merger of the Armed Forces in as many fields as the act permitted, leaving to the future the many adjustments that would have to follow such a violent course. Or he could apply pressure gradually, preceeding after careful study and deliberation from the more important things to those of lesser importance.

He chose evolution rather than revolution. In the light of the present critical international situation, he felt that the efficiency of the armed forces could not be considered more important than maintaining our fighting posture. To some extent, the two goals coincided; and to that extent administrative reform, he believed, would improve the military effectiveness of the services. But it was essential to maintain the traditions, the loyalties, and the morale of the services. This decision explains many of his actions during the past year.

In judging the effectiveness of the new system, some note also must be taken of the limits of the authority of the Secretary of Defense. Broad as is the scope of the National Military Establishment, it is only one segment of National Security Organization. Both the National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board are outside the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Defense, although he is a member of both bodies. More significant is the relation of the military establishment to the President. Fundamental decisions concerning the nation's course in foreign affairs and in the use of the armed services are primarily the responsibility of the President. The Secretary of Defense, consequently, must refer a great many matters affecting military policy to the President for decision.

Congressional action also controls, in large measure, what the Secretary of Defense can or cannot do. Although budgetary estimates may be carefully prepared to give the nation a balanced military force, Congress may, as it did in the case of the 70 Air Group program, disregard the considered advice presented by the Secretary of Defense. Moreover, it is Congress that frequently determines where Navy yards, Army posts, and Air fields shall be built, and, once constructed, whether they shall be retained in operation. Indeed, one high naval officer, when asked what factors determined the choice of operating facilities, said bluntly: "When the Democrats control Congress, we open the Charleston (South Carolina) Navy Yard; when the Republicans do, we close it."

Mr. Forrestal's long administrative experience in the Navy was of no little assistance in determining first things in order of importance. Obviously, a beginning had to be made by recruiting an adequate staff. The National Security Act specifically provided him with three special assistants.[12] He immediately appointed Wilfred McNeil, who had been fiscal director of the Navy, Marx Leva, who had been one of his special assistants in the Navy, and John Ohly, formerly special assistant to Robert Patterson. These were early appointments and highly important ones. Thereafter he encountered great difficulty in obtaining a staff of the quality he desired. Men who had taken service under him during the war years no longer felt that they could make the sacrifices that government service entailed. Billets were gradually filled, but the three special assistants were forced to assume additional duty as heads of the major staff policy divisions—McNeil in charge of budget, accounting policy, statistics, and the administrative office; Leva, the office of counsel and legislation; and Ohly, the office of the secretariat—with the result that, in a sense, the Secretary was left without the assistance of an emergency task force such as a department chief with his responsibilities should have.

The staff policy units have gradually been activated as indicated on the attached chart. These units were intended to be the lateral, coördinating links, tying the whole National Military Establishment together. Line operations, in the broadest sense of the term, would center in the three military services, but the staff policy units would cover the most important phases of work for the whole establishment.

During the current fiscal year, 1949, appropriations for the staff policy units in the Office of the Secretary of Defense amounted to somewhat more than two million dollars. The total appropriation for the Secretary's office, as a whole, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Research and Development Board, the Munitions Board, and the Armed Services Petroleum Board, amounted to over six millions. By June 30, 1949, the end of the present fiscal year, the number of military and civilian personnel attached to the Secretary's office and its various boards is expected to reach 1,600; and the budget estimates for the next fiscal year are almost double the appropriations obtained for the present fiscal year.

During the past twelve months—a relatively short period in the history of an executive department—considerable progress has been made in many vital areas of administrative operations. Some units in the organization, however, are not functioning properly, and in all areas there is room for improvement.

Essentially the purpose of the act was to centralize policy-making in the office of the Secretary of Defense and decentralize operations in the three Service Departments. The first year of operations seems to indicate

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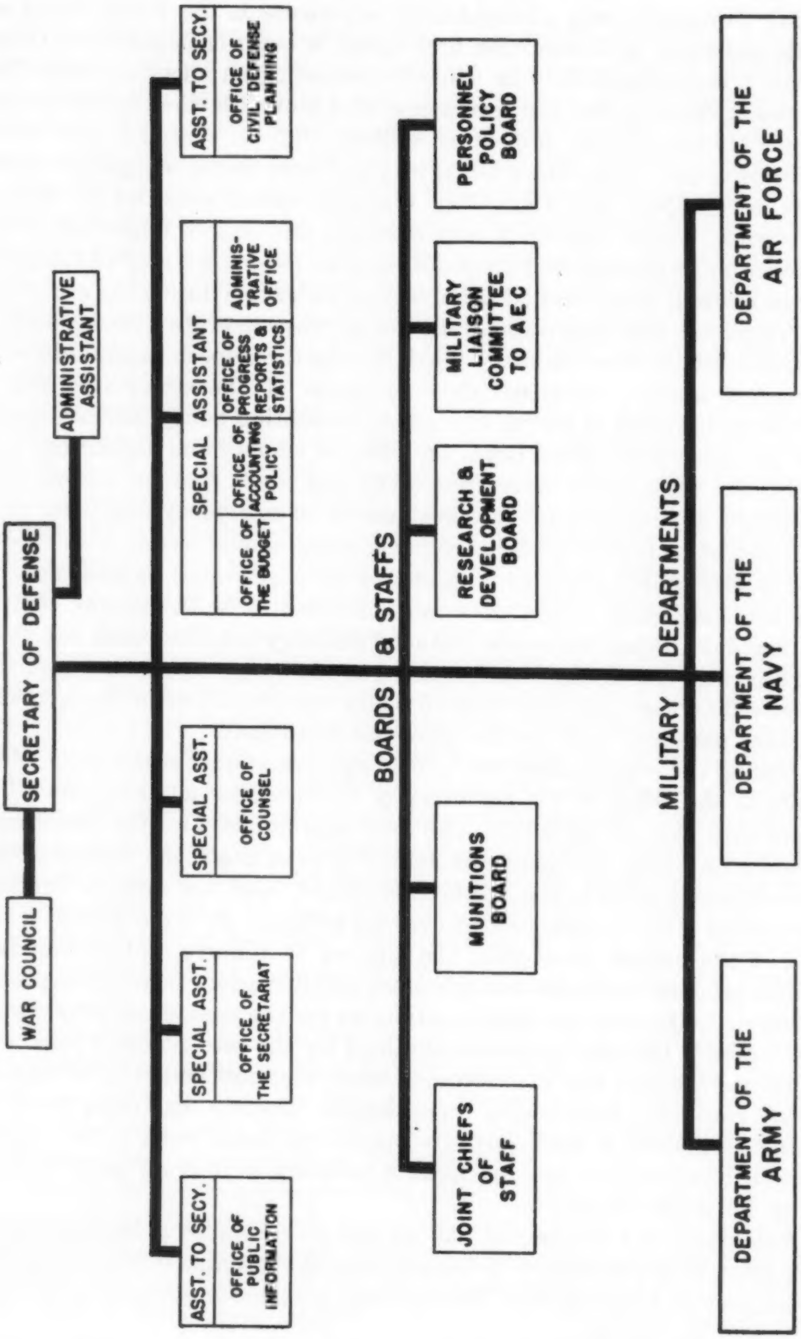
[12] *Ibid.*, Sec. 204 (a).

ORGANIZATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE


WAR COUNCIL
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
ASST. TO SECY.
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
SPECIAL ASST.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARIAT
SPECIAL ASST.
OFFICE OF COUNSEL
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
OFFICE OF THE BUDGET
OFFICE OF ACCOUNTING POLICY
OFFICE OF PROGRESS REPORTS & STATISTICS
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
ASST. TO SECY.
OFFICE OF CIVIL DEFENSE PLANNING
BOARDS & STAFFS
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
MUNITIONS BOARD
RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT BOARD
MILITARY LIAISON COMMITTEE TO AEC
PERSONNEL POLICY BOARD
MILITARY DEPARTMENTS
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

15 JUNE 1948

that there are very real advantages in this arrangement. While the pressure of work upon the Secretary of Defense has been heavy, it would have been unbearable had he been faced with all of the problems of a single department of the armed forces. This is particularly true of administrative decisions that have political aspects. Under the present system, he is relieved of the necessity for action upon a great many single service matters.

The operations of military justice, for example, is one of the most time-consuming tasks of a head of a military department. Members of Congress frequently are concerned with the exercise of clemency and the approval of findings of court martials. Today, the Secretary of Defense is not concerned with the system as it applies to individual cases. It is estimated that his mail would be increased by at least one-third were he the final authority on these matters. At the present time, he can refer to the Secretaries of the three departments all inquiries and all petitions for clemency.

The same is true with regard to commissioning, promotion, and assignment of officers as individuals. Under the present "federal" system, he can and does disclaim responsibility. On the other hand, his office is concerned with developing common patterns of personnel administration among the three services, and various policy studies are now under way in that area.

During the current fiscal year, one-third of the federal budget was absorbed by military and naval expenditures, or $15 billions in a budget of approximately $43 billions. The military estimates for the fiscal year, 1949, had been presented to the Bureau of the Budget before Mr. Forrestal took office; the first estimates, therefore, on which his staff could work were for the fiscal year 1950. On July 16, 1948, President Truman somewhat arbitrarily placed a ceiling of $15 billions on military expenditures for fiscal 1950.

The method that Mr. Forrestal used to bring the military budget within that ceiling is a good example of his evolutionary policy. On July 17, 1948, he addressed a formal request to the Joint Chiefs of Staff as his "principal military advisers" asking them to prepare specific recommendations relative to the readiness, composition, size, and general deployment of military forces to be maintained during the next fiscal year. Furthermore, the Joint Chiefs were to indicate priorities of importance that might be of assistance to the Secretary if reductions in the estimates became necessary. A month later, he received from the three Secretaries, with the prior endorsement of the Joint Chiefs, estimates that totaled $30 billions—estimates unilaterally reached, and apparently prepared without reference to the President's ceiling of $15 billions.

Thereupon Mr. Forrestal instructed his own budget staff to hold hearings at which the representatives of each service made written and oral presentations of various programs and were subject to cross examination by representatives of the other two services. Furthermore, he directed the Joint Chiefs to appoint a budget committee to represent them. Finally, late in the fall a tentative budget was established within the $15 billion limit. None of the Services was fully satisfied, and it is quite probable that after Congressional hearings some of the items stricken from the estimates will reappear in the appropriation bills. Thus, by avoiding the direct use of coercive authority and by patiently urging the military to agree, the Secretary of Defense was able not only to obtain at least outward agreement on a budget, but also to organize the budget-making machinery in his own office.[13]

Disputes between the services have been argued in the public press on a number of occasions; the best known had to do with the proper size of the Air Force. The Secretary of Defense has attempted to improve public relations in two ways: he forbade public attacks by members of one service upon the others, and he took steps to coördinate their general programs. Both policies have been successful only to a degree. Here, as in so many other phases of administration, political values outweigh administrative. Whether the President shall remove the Secretary of one of the military departments for violating an order of the Secretary of Defense is a political decision extending far beyond the administrative sphere.

An office of public information, however, was activated in Mr. Forrestal's office, and Harold Hinton was borrowed for a limited period from the *New York Times* to organize a unified public relations program. There have been interesting by-products that may result in some economies. A method for jointly accrediting correspondents to all three services has been worked out, a central press-room has been established in the Pentagon Building, and steps have been taken to merge public relations facilities in the field.

Paradoxically, control of legislation presented both a more simple and a more complex problem. It was an area in which misunderstandings could easily arise and in which many differences of opinion already existed; but at the same time an effective control device was at hand. All legislation that the executive departments wish to present to Congress must, according to an executive order of the President, be approved by the Bureau of the Budget. Through an informal understanding between the Budget Bureau and the Secretary of Defense, military legislation will not be approved unless it has first received the assent of the Secretary of Defense. This, of course, does not close the back door to Congress. Individual members still may be "inspired" to introduce bills representing the views of one of the services. In the main, however, legislation in which more than one service has an interest must be submitted to the legislative office of the Secretary of Defense and the other services given an opportunity to express their views. In mid-summer, Major General Wilton B. Persons was named head of the legislative office.[14]

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[13] It is interesting to speculate upon what would have happened had the Collins plan of unification been in operation and the "Secretary of the Armed Forces" forced to transmit budget estimates of the Joint Chiefs of Staff unchanged to the President. It might well be that a President would have some hesitation to challenge the united opinion of the military.

Mr. Forrestal learned from his Navy experience how important complete, accurate, and well-interpreted statistical data can be, particularly in work programming. As Secretary of Defense, he found no lack of statistical data coming to him from the three service departments. The problem, however, was to obtain data that would be comparable both within and among the services. Therefore, he authorized a survey to be made by outside experts and subsequently established an office of progress reports and statistics to have continuing responsibility for the compilation and interpretation of statistics.

An office of the secretariat completed his immediate staff. The importance of an adequate secretariat in an organization such as this can hardly be over-emphasized. It prepares the agenda and records the decisions of the War Council, the highest civilian-military policy committee. Moreover, Mr. Forrestal has a passion for *ad hoc* investigating and survey groups. In the course of the past year, at least a dozen major surveys have been undertaken, in addition to the work of a great many inter- and intra-departmental committees in which the Secretary of Defense has an interest. The staff of the present secretariat is limited, and there has been a conviction that both the staff and the activities of the secretariat could be somewhat amplified.

A Personnel Policy Board at the same organizational level in the office of the Secretary of Defense as the Research and Development Board had been contemplated from the beginning, and was provided for in the National Defense Manual issued in June, 1948. Composed of an assistant secretary from each of the three services, and headed by a civilian chairman, this board would have general cognizance over all military and civilian personnel policies of the military establishment. Late in the fall, the Board had not been activated, partly because of differences of opinion regarding the exact wording of its charter, and partly because a chairman had not been obtained.

But by October, 1948, the end of the first year, all units in the Secretary's office except this Personnel Policy Board had been placed on an operating basis; and this in itself was a major accomplishment. For the first time in the nation's history, an organization existed that could think nationally on defense matters independently of service interests.

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[14] *Directive of the Secretary of Defense*, July 23, 1948.

There is another broad aspect of the National Security Act, however, that will bear examination. Frequently, in the testimony before Congress, it was argued that the National Security Act would ensure continuous integration of security policies;[15] and two new presidential staff agencies were provided for that purpose. It was intended that in the National Security Council two great streams of information and thinking should be brought together for analysis—one flowing from the State Department, the other from the National Military Establishment. To these would be added the critical evaluation of intelligence data by the Central Intelligence Agency and estimates of the nation's economic and industrial position from the National Security Resources Board. In the past, this integration and evaluation was more or less the personal responsibility of the President. In recognizing the need for a staff, the act took into account the growing complexity of security problems.

Military decisions that the President would reach, with the assistance of the National Security Council, would be transmitted to the Secretary of Defense and through him to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the preparation of strategic plans and for the assignment of rôles and missions to each of the services. The supporting logistics plans would be transmitted from the services to the Munitions Board for consolidation into a single set of military requirements stated in terms of raw materials, manpower, industrial facilities, and end products.

In this structural pattern, the Research and Development Board was to coördinate the whole military research program, assigning responsibilities and preventing duplication. It also would advise the Joint Chiefs on scientific discoveries and in turn be advised on the most important and critical needs of the military.

Planning, however, cannot be compartmentalized, although it can be divided into its several parts. There must be constant liaison between all agencies involved, so that each can perform its individual mission. During the past year, both the strategic and the logistical system has failed in this regard.

Even logistics planning is a two-way street. There must be close and continuous liaison between the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Munitions Board, and the National Security Resources Board. Otherwise, strategic plans may far exceed the industrial capacity of the nation.

Naturally, the Munitions Board and the National Security Resources

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[15] See particularly Forrestal's testimony, *Hearings on the National Security Act of 1947*, Com. on Expenditures, House of Representatives, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., Apr. 24, 1947, p. 99.

Board would prefer a well-ordered war with each move of the military establishment planned long in advance. If this were possible, material requirements could be fixed down to the last Army boot and the last Navy landing craft. This kind of planning, however, is impossible to achieve, although the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be able to produce reasonably firm requirements for the first year of any kind of a war that the nation might be called upon to fight.

Many obstacles have been encountered in obtaining this kind of strategic plan. Day-to-day working relations between the various planning agencies have been lacking. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been particularly criticized for "ivory tower" planning. During World War II, liaison between the War Production Board and the Joint Chiefs of that day was unsatisfactory.[16] It was also incomplete between the Joint Chiefs and the logistics branches of the Army and Navy.[17] This situation has not been corrected. Moreover, contacts between the Research and Development Board and the Joint Chiefs have been relatively rare, whereas they should be constant.

It may be said in explanation that the whole National Security Organization is very new and that each agency has had numerous problems of internal organization. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Secretary of Defense is conscious of the difficulty, and has taken steps to provide more continuous liaison between the various planning agencies. Finally, in October, 1948, the Joint Chiefs, after much urging, did produce a strategic plan upon the basis of which logistics planning can go forward.

These are some of the debits on the ledger of the new National Security Organization. On the credit side, however, there are also many assets to be recorded. Coöperation between the services is evident in many fields.[18] If one wished to be facetious, he could cite the fact that the Navy is now roasting all the Army's coffee.

Marked progress has been made in the establishment of joint training schools, particularly at the higher levels, and in the conduct of joint maneuvers. The National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and the Public Relations School at Carlisle Barracks are examples in point. Cross-training of Air Forces and Naval air personnel has been commenced on a limited scale. Furthermore, steps have been taken to encourage friendly relations between junior officers through the exchange of cadets and midshipmen and in joint maneuvers.

In the strictly military field, the rôles and missions of the respective services were defined at the Key West and Newport Conferences. Division and allocation of responsibilities and special functions between the three services were accomplished. While there is still some uneasy muttering between the Air Force and the Navy's air arm regarding their respective parts in strategic bombing, most of the grumbling concerns the interpretation of the agreements.

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[16] Civilian Production Administration, *Industrial Mobilization for War*, p. 222.

[17] F. Eberstadt, *Report to James Forrestal*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[18] Note James Forrestal's comments on his return from Europe. *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1948, p. 1.

Unified commands in the overseas areas—Atlantic, Alaska, the Pacific, the Far East, and Europe—have been established and a single commander appointed for each area. Thus basic foundations have been laid which give promise of producing a unified military machine, decentralized for tactical, and centralized for strategic, purposes.

A major accomplishment during the past year has been the separation of the new Department of the Air Force from the Department of the Army. The divorce was achieved with a minimum of dislocation in day-to-day activities. An entire new executive department has been created whose organization reflects a good deal of administrative streamlining unhampered by the long-existing customs and traditions so evident in the two older departments.

The Army and Navy air transport services have been merged into a single unit under the control of the Air Force, known as the Military Air Transport Service. Base facilities and air transport terminals have been consolidated, and former parallel routes have been eliminated. The Berlin Air Lift may be cited as an example of the success of this merger. Also the offices of the Secretary of Defense, the civilian secretaries of the three military departments, and the top military command have been brought under one roof—the Pentagon Building—which should facilitate more frequent contacts between the high-level military and civilian commanders of the military establishment.

As noted above, Mr. Forrestal has caused special studies to be made in a great many fields of common interest to the services. The Hawley Board has made recommendations that have led to a merger of the service hospitals in the Canal Zone and in cross-hospitalization of dependents. Throughout the medical services of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, uniformity in medical practices, nomenclature, and related matters is being sought.

With respect to the reserve units of the Armed Services, the Gray Board made many recommendations to improve their organization and training, as well as to reduce the time and labor heretofore required to integrate them with the regulars in time of crisis. The report of the Board is now being studied by the three services.

A greatly needed study, under the direction of the Hook Board, is being made of service pay rates and retirement benefits of both regular and reserve components of the Armed Services. The purpose is not only to determine adequacy, but also to establish uniformity between the services. No examination of service pay scales has been made since 1922.

Substantial progress has been made by an interdepartmental board on a uniform Code of Military Justice. Research has been completed showing principal procedural and substantive differences between the services. In the light of this analysis, the Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Edmund Morgan of the Harvard Law School, has been preparing, against a January 1, 1949, deadline, a single military code to supersede the existing Articles of War for the Army and similar Navy and Coast Guard codes.

During the course of the past six months, a monumental study of the problem of civil defense in wartime has been completed. Recommendations have been made for creating a small permanent skeleton staff in the office of the Secretary of Defense that could be rapidly expanded in wartime to supervise this activity.

In the industrial field, the Munitions Board has taken the lead in conserving war plants and machine tools, in stimulating the preparation of common specifications, common material cataloging, a program of material identification, and in the assignment of procurement responsibility among the services. These are all areas in which substantial economies should be achieved.

The work of the Facilities and Services Committee, under the auspices of the Munitions Board, gives promise of greater efficiencies in many areas through the joint use of military facilities and reduction of duplication. A pilot operation covering joint recruiting, joint public information facilities, joint handling of munitions and of real estate in the San Francisco Bay area, shows what can be done.

The Research and Development Board has made considerable progress in coördinating the research programs of the three services. It has recruited a highly qualified staff and effected cordial military-civilian relations. It is confidently expected that an effective weapons-evaluation system will be established in the near future which will materially assist in planning the future work of this Board.

In the field of integrating foreign policy and national defense, the National Security Council is coming to be used more and more frequently as was intended. Ever since the Berlin crisis developed in the early summer, meetings have been frequent and the Council's use as a staff policy-developing device is more evident. Not only have its several members seemed to recognize its value, but the Chief Executive, increasingly during the past six months, has found it an effective aid in the midst of recurring crises.

After a considerable period of uncertainty, the National Security Resources Board produced a work program on August 19 which will give direction and integration to its activities. It has gradually overcome its initial inability to recruit a staff, and it promises to produce a preliminary industrial mobilization plan by the end of the current year.

In the meantime, the Board has initiated a number of valuable special studies. Indeed some of them may hold much personal interest, even for academicians. For instance, in the course of studying the location of industrial plants from the viewpoint of security, it was noted that atomic bombs are not effective outside a ten-mile area and too costly to use unless such an area contains at least 50,000 persons.[19] One may be permitted to speculate as to what effect this fact might have on the development of our educational institutions, and whether it will be used as an inducement to recruit faculty.

This, in brief, is an account of the structural developments that have taken place during the first year of operations under the National Security Act. To evaluate fully the progress that has been made and the defects that remain, one must await the report of the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Departments. In the meanwhile, the report of the Commission's task force, the Committee on the National Security Organization, whose chairman was Ferdinand Eberstadt, can be examined with profit.[20] Likewise, the first annual report of the Secretary of Defense clearly indicates some of the progress made as well as the difficulties encountered.[21]

In the final analysis, the success or failure of the National Security Organization will depend in large measure upon the amount of support that the White House and Congress give to unification measures. If they permit the services, by appealing over the head of the Secretary of Defense, to obtain larger appropriations than he deems necessary, the system will fail to achieve its objective. Structurally, the administrative foundations are sound, and real progress toward establishing common policies in many fields has been made.

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[19] National Security Resources Board, *National Security Factors in Plant Location*, July 22, 1948.

[20] *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1948, p. 18.

[21] *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1948, p. 10.

RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT IN 1947

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Rural local government received considerable attention during 1947 at the hands of state legislatures and the general public. The legislative sessions in many states were the first regular meetings since the end of the war, and therefore afforded the earliest opportunity to deal at length with various postwar problems and with certain problems of a peacetime nature on which action had been deferred during the war period. Perhaps the most significant phase of the year's developments was the conferring upon counties and townships, or special districts serving unincorporated areas, of numerous powers of a regulatory or service nature traditionally possessed only by municipalities. Another subject which received major attention was that of finding new and increased revenues to finance expanded programs of local services at rising price levels. Widespread interest was also displayed in such matters as areal readjustments, the modernization of local-government structure in the interest of efficiency and economy, and intergovernmental coöperation in the performance of local functions. In reviewing the events of the year, a topical arrangement similar to that used in previous summaries[1] will be followed.

I. AREAS

New Areas. State legislation authorizing the establishment of special-purpose districts was more extensive in 1947 than for several years past. Problems of water supply, sewerage, and refuse disposal frequently overlap political boundaries and sometimes involve suburban and rural areas as well as incorporated communities. Several states authorized the creation of special districts to deal with these and related problems. In some instances the districts are permitted to include only unincorporated territory, while in others they may embrace two or more municipalities or both incorporated and unincorporated areas. Nebraska and South Dakota authorized the organization of sanitary districts to provide sewage-disposal facilities in areas outside municipalities. Boards of county commissioners in Utah were empowered to establish improvement districts to provide water supply and sewerage for unincorporated areas. Special districts for supplying water, sewerage, or both, were authorized in Idaho. A Nevada law permits the establishment of districts for supplying water, sewerage, and garbage disposal, singly or in any combination. Montana provided that any municipality or county may be organized as a sanitary district.[2]

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[1] See this REVIEW, Vol. 41, pp. 28–47, 1130–1141, and earlier articles listed, *ibid.*, p. 28.

Under an Indiana statute, any area situated within one or more counties may be organized as a conservancy district for one or more of a number of enumerated purposes. Functions specified as within the competence of such a district include, among others, flood prevention, reclaiming of overflowed lands, irrigation, regulation of the flow of streams, providing a water supply for domestic or industrial uses, providing sewage-disposal service, and providing forests, wild-life areas, parks, and recreation facilities. Flood-control districts were established, by special acts, in several Texas counties. Nebraska authorized the organization of reclamation districts to regulate and promote the beneficial use of water resources. Regional shore-line park and recreation districts were authorized in California. In each county of the same state there was created an air pollution control district with boundaries coextensive with the county, with the provision, however, that no such district may exercise any of its powers until the county board of supervisors has declared by resolution a need for the district to function. Such districts, which are to be administered by county officers *ex officio*, are empowered to make and enforce rules and regulations to reduce air contamination within the district. In Los Angeles county at least, the air pollution control district is reported to have been activated by the county board and to have inaugurated surveys of the air contamination problems of the Los Angeles area. Missouri authorized the creation of special districts to provide street lighting in unincorporated areas of first-class counties. Hospital districts and fire protection districts were authorized in Kansas, and county library districts in Iowa.[3]

Consolidation. The movement for consolidation of school districts increased in tempo. Consolidation programs inaugurated in Illinois and Kansas in 1945 made noteworthy progress notwithstanding attacks on their legality. During the two-year period ending March 1, 1947, the number of elementary districts in Kansas was reduced by approximately one-third—from 8,112 to 5,441.[4] The 1945 Kansas statute, which authorized the effecting of consolidations by county school reorganization committees, was amended in 1947 to permit any county, at its option, to establish an elective reorganization committee in place of the committee appointed by the county board under the original law. Election of these new committees, which were established in a third of the state's counties, was by county conventions of delegates chosen at special school district meetings. In June, 1947, however, both the original reorganization statute of 1945 and the amendatory act of 1947 were held unconstitutional by the Kansas supreme court as attempted delegations of legislative power to the reorganization committees. Fortunately for the reorganization movement, the legislature had enacted validating acts covering all consolidations effected on or before March 1, 1947, and this validating legislation was subsequently sustained by the court.[5]

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[2] *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, ch. 152; *Laws, Resolutions, and Memorials of Montana*, 1947, ch. 292; *Laws of Nebraska*, 1947, ch. 115; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 138; *Laws of South Dakota*, 1947, ch. 226; *Laws of Utah*, 1947, ch. 25.

[3] *Statutes of California*, 1947, chs. 632, 1193; *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 239; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 193; *Kansas Session Laws*, chs. 172, 482; *Laws of Missouri*, 1947, vol. I, p. 452; *Laws of Nebraska*, 1947, ch. 173; *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, chs. 183, 184, 185, 186, 406.

[4] *School District Reorganization: Kansas Experience, 1945–1947* (Publication No. 150, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, Topeka, Sept., 1947).

In Illinois, which prior to 1945 had more than 12,000 school districts, consolidations are effected by local referendum on recommendations made by county school survey committees, and the establishment of survey committees is optional with the individual counties. By the end of 1947, all but one of the state's 102 counties had organized survey committees, and many consolidations had actually been effected. A new law of 1947, designed to facilitate consolidation by authorizing the organization of "community unit" districts providing 12-grade school systems, was attacked in the courts on the ground, among others, that it constituted an unlawful delegation of legislative power to the local voters. In September, 1948, however, the Illinois supreme court sustained the legislation, thereby clearing the way for continuation of the consolidation program.[6] Current estimates indicate that by the spring of 1949 the number of Illinois districts may be reduced to 3,000 or less—a reduction of more than three-fourths in the original number. An important incidental factor in encouraging consolidation in Illinois is a statute which denies state aid to any district having fewer than seven pupils in average daily attendance unless the state and county superintendents agree that transportation of its pupils to neighboring districts is impracticable.

As the initial step in consolidation programs, five states enacted school survey statutes similar in their general purpose to those enacted two years earlier in Illinois and Kansas. The states taking this action in 1947 were Idaho, Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. In each instance, the legislature established, or authorized establishment of, county survey committees to study existing school district organization and make recommendations for reorganization or consolidation. Each statute also provided for a state committee or commission of some sort. In most instances, it was made the duty of the state agency to assist the county committees in their work, to receive and review the recommendations of the county committees, or to perform both of those functions. In Wisconsin, however, the state commission is charged only with making recommendations to the legislature concerning needed improvements in the school system, while the state superintendent is assigned the duty of advising the county committees. Except in Wisconsin, where reorganization orders of the county committees are final, subject to appeal to the courts, reorganization and consolidation proposals of the survey committees are subject to local referendum before becoming effective.[7]

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[5] *Kansas Session Laws*, 1947, chs. 374, 375, 377; *State* v. *Hines*, 163 Kan. 300 (1947); *State* v. *Common School District No. 87*, 163 Kan. 650 (1947).

[6] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 1530; *People* v. *Deatherage*, 401 Ill. 25 (1948).

Larger school units were envisaged also in legislation enacted in Indiana and Pennsylvania. In Indiana, where the township has long been the unit for administration of rural schools, a law was passed to provide an optional county-unit plan. Pennsylvania, which likewise is usually considered as a township-unit state but has a considerable number of smaller districts as well, made it the duty of county boards of school directors to prepare county-wide plans for district mergers which, if approved by the state council of education, will be submitted to the local voters.[8] In several other states, including New York and Texas, school consolidation programs inaugurated in earlier years continued to make substantial progress.

Consolidation of county and city governments was under consideration in several communities. Constitutional amendments were proposed in Florida and Washington which, if ratified by the voters of the respective states, will provide a consolidated city-county government for Miami and authorize the establishment of such a government for Seattle. Submission of the Miami proposal for ratification was made contingent, however, upon its previous approval by the voters of Dade county.[9] In Alabama, a legislative advisory committee recommended the consolidation of city and county governments in the Birmingham area, and the legislature proposed a constitutional amendment to permit such consolidation.[10] Other communities reported as interested in possible city-county consolidation include Atlanta and Albany in Georgia, Charlotte in North Carolina, and Pueblo in Colorado.

II. ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

Creation and Abolition of Offices. Iowa abolished the office of township assessor and provided that the county auditor shall be *ex officio* county assessor. Though the auditor is elective, full-time deputy assessors will be selected on the basis of examinations given by the state tax commission. A county board of review to adjust valuations and assess omitted property will be composed of members selected by the county board of supervisors, the county board of education, and the mayors of cities and towns.[11] Ten Tennessee counties were provided by special acts with general sessions courts, bringing to 27 the number of counties in that state wherein, during the last decade, justice-of-the-peace courts have been supplanted by tribunals with salaried judges. In most of these counties, the general sessions judges are required to be lawyers and to devote their full time to their judicial duties.[12] Illinois provided that the county board of any county may, upon petition, establish a county weed-control department under a weed-control commissioner appointed by the board. The commissioner of any such department succeeds to the powers and duties of township commissioners of noxious weeds in the county. Idaho's legislature proposed an amendment to eliminate the requirement that the county superintendent of public instruction be chosen by popular election.[13]

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[7] *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, ch. 111; *Session Laws of Minnesota*, 1947, ch. 421; *Laws of North Dakota*, 1947, ch. 147; *Wisconsin Session Laws*, 1947, ch. 573; *Session Laws of Wyoming*, 1947, ch. 163.

[8] *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 281; *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1947, no. 361.

[9] *General Acts and Resolutions of Florida*, 1947, p. 1616; *Session Laws of Washington*, 1947, p. 1386.

[10] *General Laws of Alabama*, 1947 (reg. sess.), no. 591. See *infra*, "Research."

Term, Reëligibility, and Compensation. The New Mexico legislature proposed a constitutional amendment to increase the terms of county officers from two years to four. Under present provisions, a person who has served two consecutive terms is ineligible to hold any county office for a period of two years; while the proposed amendment would provide only for ineligibility to the same office for a second consecutive four-year term. A proposed amendment to Washington's constitution, if ratified by the voters, will eliminate a provision that no county office may be held by the same person for more than two consecutive terms. Pennsylvania enacted legislation permitting sheriffs to succeed themselves. In Oregon, those justices of the peace who were still receiving their compensation from fees (some had previously been placed on salaries) were placed on a salary basis.[14]

County and Town Executives. A special act of the Maryland legislature provides the office of county business manager for the county of Anne Arundel (Annapolis). The manager is to be appointed by the county board on the basis of his executive and administrative qualities, and is to be vested with fairly broad managerial powers with respect to appointment and removal, budgeting, and supervision over county administration. It is reported, however, that opponents of the new plan have filed a petition which will necessitate its approval in a referendum vote before it can become effective.[15] In Montgomery county, Maryland, where a manager charter was defeated in 1944, another charter providing for the manager plan has been drafted for submission to the voters.[16] Chesterfield county, Virginia, was reported to have defeated a manager proposal in the November, 1947, election.[17]

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[11] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 240.

[12] *Private Acts of Tennessee*, 1947, chs. 41, 210, 235, 254, 345, 349, 384, 459, 769, 877; Henry N. Williams, "General Sessions Courts in Tennessee," *Jour. of the Amer. Judicature Soc.*, Vol. 31, pp. 101–104 (Dec., 1947).

[13] *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, p. 906; *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 330.

[14] *Laws of New Mexico*, 1947, p. 565; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 564; *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1947, no. 64; *Session Laws of Washington*, 1947, p. 1385.

Well over a dozen towns, scattered among five of the six New England states, adopted manager government during the year. Several of these were in Maine, where the manager plan has become very popular in recent years. After an extremely slow start, the plan appears now to be having a spurt of popularity in New Hampshire. That state's optional town manager law of 1929, which had its first adoption in 1946, was adopted by five additional communities in 1947. At least three towns adopted the manager plan in Connecticut, and one each in Vermont and Massachusetts. Jamestown, Rhode Island, by approving the plan at a special town meeting, apparently became the first town in that state to vote for the adoption of manager government. As a result of the local vote, a bill to provide a manager charter for Jamestown was introduced in the state legislature, where it passed the senate but was defeated in the house.[18]

Under a Michigan law empowering urban townships to incorporate as "charter townships," the governing body of any township so incorporating is authorized to appoint a township superintendent and to confer upon him broad powers of a managerial nature.[19]

Personnel Administration. New Jersey's optional state-administered merit system program was adopted during the year by two additional counties, bringing to 16 the number of counties in that state, out of a total of 21, which now operate under the jurisdiction of the state civil service commission. A merit system was reported to have been adopted by Brown county, Wisconsin. Riverside county, California, established the position of county administrative officer to organize and administer a personnel program for the county and to prepare the annual budget.[20]

In-service training and retirement systems for local-government personnel in rural areas are making some headway, even if slowly. Twenty Pennsylvania counties were reported to have conducted schools on civil and criminal law for justices of the peace. In two other states, plans were being formulated for the training of justices—in New York through the public schools and in Florida through the state university. Nevada made it the duty of the chief valuation consultant in the state tax commission to provide a training program for county assessors. Boards of county commissioners in Utah were authorized to establish retirement systems for county officers and employees; while Washington provided that any political subdivision with five or more employees may affiliate with the retirement system for state employees. The Illinois statute providing an optional state-administered retirement system for local employees was amended to make its provisions mandatory with respect to the non-academic employees of school districts. In Travis county, Texas, the voters approved a plan for retirement, death, and disability benefits for appointive county employees desiring to participate in the system.[21]

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[15] *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 638; Elwyn A. Mauck, notes in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 349 (June, 1947), *ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 111 (Feb., 1948).

[16] See *infra*, "Home Rule and Optional Charters."

[17] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 652 (Dec., 1947).

[18] H. M. Olmsted, notes in *ibid.*, Vol. 36, p. 631 (Dec., 1947), Vol. 37, p. 317 (June, 1948).

[19] See *infra*, "Home Rule and Optional Charters."

[20] James M. Mitchell, "Personnel Developments in 1947," *Municipal Year Book*, 1948, pp. 97–102; Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 471 (Sept., 1947); H. M. Olmsted, note in *ibid.*, Vol. 37, pp. 95–96 (Feb., 1948).

A proposed amendment to the Texas constitution, if ratified by the voters, will authorize the enactment of enabling legislation to permit counties to provide workmen's compensation insurance for their employees. In the same state, counties, along with other political subdivisions, were empowered to provide group insurance for their employees covering health, accident, and accidental death. Nevada authorized local governmental units, including counties, to provide their officers and employees, on an optional basis, with group life, accident, and health insurance.[22]

III. FUNCTIONS

New Functions. More than a third of the states enacted legislation conferring new powers upon counties, and a few gave new powers to towns or townships. Some of the grants of authority were extended only to urban and semi-urban units or to those confronted with special problems, while others were of general application. A growing tendency is discernible to confer upon county and township governments, and especially those in urban areas, many of the powers ordinarily exercised by municipalities. Most numerous during 1947 were grants of authority in the fields of planning and zoning, housing, health, public works, and regulatory activities.

Planning and zoning powers were conferred upon counties generally in

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[21] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 415; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 179; *Laws of Utah*, 1947, ch. 26; *Session Laws of Washington*, 1947, ch. 274; Mitchell, *loc.cit.*; Elwyn A. Mauck, notes in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 471 (Sept., 1947), Vol. 37, p. 342 (June, 1948).

[22] *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 27; *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, ch. 410, p. 1191.

Indiana and Oregon and upon Jefferson county (Birmingham) in Alabama. A county and township zoning law of general application was enacted in Ohio, while Iowa conferred zoning authority upon counties of not less than 60,000 population. Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, and Texas were added to the growing list of states which authorize counties and other local units to enact airport-zoning regulations to protect approaches to airports. Two regional planning commissions were established in Georgia. One of these will serve the metropolitan area of Fulton and DeKalb counties, while the other will have jurisdiction over the counties of Harris, Meriwether, and Talbot, which include the Warm Springs Memorial region. In the Cleveland area in Ohio, a new regional planning commission was established to replace the planning commission of Cuyahoga county. Connecticut provided that any two or more contiguous towns, cities, or boroughs having planning commissions may join in the formation of a regional planning authority. Zoning ordinances were reported to have been adopted during the year by Montgomery county, Maryland, and Walla Walla county, Washington.[23]

Provision was made for the establishment of county housing authorities in Nevada, and county veterans housing authorities in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Various Maryland counties were empowered to regulate rents charged for housing accommodations. Authority to operate hospitals was conferred upon the counties of New Mexico and certain classes of counties in Iowa and Nebraska. Wisconsin counties were authorized to operate mental health clinics and to provide ambulance service. Oregon counties were empowered to operate dumps and disposal plants for garbage and other refuse, and in Georgia an amendment was proposed to the state constitution to enable Fulton county (Atlanta) to provide garbage disposal service.[24]

First-class counties in Missouri were authorized to build roadways, sidewalks, curbs, and gutters in unincorporated towns and villages and to finance such projects through special assessments. Texas counties of 50,000 or more inhabitants, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, were empowered to construct and operate causeways, bridges, and tunnels. County boards in North Dakota were authorized to erect war memorials; while Oregon provided that counties, when approved by the local voters in a referendum, may levy a tax for the acquisition and preservation of historical objects and property of historical interest.[25]

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[23] *General Laws of Alabama*, 1947 (reg. sess.), nos. 344, 581; *Public Acts of Connecticut*, 1947, no. 460; *Acts and Resolutions of Georgia*, 1947, pp. 849, 1010; *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, ch. 130; *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 174; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 184; *Kansas Session Laws*, 1947, ch. 13; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 205; *Page's Ohio General Code*, 1947 supplement, secs. 3180-1 to 3180-50; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, chs. 537, 558; *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, ch. 391; H. M. Olmsted, "Cleveland Area Inaugurates Regional Planning," *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 332 (June, 1947); Walter H. Blucher, "Planning and Zoning Developments in 1947," *Municipal Year Book*, 1948, pp. 240–245.

[24] *Acts and Resolutions of Georgia*, 1947, p. 1757; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 192; *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 507; *Laws of Nebraska*, 1947, ch. 61; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 253; *Laws of New Mexico*, 1947, ch. 148; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 395; *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1947, no. 549; *Wisconsin Session Laws*, 1947, chs. 4, 68, 412.

Illinois county boards were empowered to regulate the construction and alteration of buildings, other than farm buildings, in unincorporated areas, and to license and regulate in such areas persons engaged in the business of providing entertainment or recreation facilities or for the lodging of transients. Missouri provided that first-class counties may regulate vehicular traffic on highways in unincorporated territory. Baltimore county, Maryland, was empowered to make and enforce smoke-control regulations.[26]

Functional Consolidation. One of the most significant developments in local government during recent years has been the growth of functional consolidation. Coöperative performance of local functions through special-purpose districts and interjurisdictional agreements has spread steadily. In 1947, there were several legislative authorizations of such coöperation, and some consolidation projects became effective.

In the field of public health, the advantages of larger administrative areas continue to attract widespread interest. Legislation authorizing multi-county health departments was enacted in Oregon, Idaho, Indiana, and Colorado, and in the latter state three such departments were organized before the year's end. City-county health departments were established to serve King county and Seattle in Washington, and Erie county and the city of Lackawanna in New York. New Mexico authorized the operation of multi-county and city-county hospitals.[27]

Other instances in which functional consolidation was authorized or effected represent a wide variety of fields. Illinois provided that two or more townships in any county under township organization may, by petition and referendum vote, unite to form a "township road district" to which all highway functions of the townships involved shall then be transferred. Any district so organized is to be administered by an elective highway commissioner and a district clerk, the same as road districts in the state's non-township counties. South Dakota counties were authorized to coöperate with townships and municipalities in the purchase and operation of fire-fighting equipment. Indiana provided that counties may join with each other in the acquisition and operation of parks. City-county agreements were authorized in Oregon for the joint operation of facilities for garbage and refuse disposal; while Michigan provided that two or more cities, villages, or townships may incorporate as a municipal authority for the collection and disposal of garbage and rubbish.[28] Several coöperative projects for regional planning and joint purchasing were inaugurated during the year.[29] A Michigan law authorizing the incorporation of urban townships as "charter townships" provides that any township so incorporated "may join with any governmental unit or agency, or with any number or combination thereof, by contract or otherwise as may be permitted by law, to perform jointly, or by one or more, for or on behalf of the other or others, any power or duty which is permitted to be so performed by law, or which is possessed or imposed upon each such governmental unit or agency."[30]

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[25] *Laws of Missouri*, 1947, vol. I, p. 430; *Laws of North Dakota*, 1947, ch. 125; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 246; *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, ch. 304.

[26] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, pp. 740, 744; *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 840; *Laws of Missouri*, 1947, vol. I, p. 451.

[27] *Laws of Colorado*, 1947, ch. 204; *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, ch. 105; *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 271; *Laws of New Mexico*, 1947, chs. 148, 199; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 388; Ira V. Hiscock, "Health Developments in 1947," *Municipal Year Book*, 1948, pp. 271–274; Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 37, p. 111 (Feb., 1948).

Transfer of Functions. Another means of securing the benefits of larger administrative areas which continues to gain in popularity is the transfer of functions from smaller to larger governmental units. In 1947, Texas enacted an optional law under which any county may, by petition and referendum vote, adopt a county-unit system of highway administration in place of the older precinct-unit plan. By the end of the year, some 30 counties had held elections under the terms of the optional statute; and of these, about a dozen adopted the county-unit system. In Washington, several counties were reported to have adopted the county-unit plan of road administration, in place of the district system, under permissive legislation enacted in 1937. Adams county, Mississippi, by action of the county governing board, inaugurated a county-unit highway system in place of the traditional plan of precinct administration.[31] The county replaced the township as the basic unit for tax-assessment purposes in Iowa.[32] Illinois provided that any county may establish a county weed-control department and transfer thereto from township weed commissioners the local weed-control function.[33]

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[28] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 1480; *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 245; *Public Acts of Michigan*, 1947, no. 179; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 395; *Laws of South Dakota*, 1947, ch. 46.

[29] See *supra*, "New Functions"; *infra*, "Purchasing."

[30] *Public Acts of Michigan*, 1947, no. 359. See *infra*, "Home Rule and Optional Charters."

[31] *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, ch. 178; Elwyn A. Mauck, notes in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, pp. 538, 592 (Oct., Nov., 1947); Vol. 37, p. 57 (Jan., 1948).

[32] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 240. See *supra*, "Creation and Abolition of Offices."

[33] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 330.

IV. FINANCE

Local government generally, both rural and urban, is confronted with a serious problem in the form of rising expenditures and lagging revenues. If existing service standards are to be maintained, and if present price levels continue, additional local revenues must be found. Three principal means are available: (1) further exploitation of the local property tax, which has always been the mainstay of local revenue systems, (2) greater use of local non-property taxes, and (3) increased state aid. That more revenue could be secured from the property tax, notwithstanding widespread opinion to the contrary, seems amply demonstrated by the fact that many communities have recently increased their revenues from this source and that nevertheless delinquency continues at a low point. Yet there appears to be rather general agreement that it is not feasible in most instances to require property as such to bear a greater share of the fiscal burden and that therefore, except as the property tax may be made more productive through improved administration and curtailed exemptions rather than through rate increases, the local governments should look for augmentation of their revenues principally to non-property taxes and amplified programs of state aid.

The Property Tax. The 1947 legislatures of Iowa, Tennessee, and Nevada enacted measures designed to improve the assessment process. Iowa, by establishing the county in place of the township as the basic assessment area, took a step which should result in more efficient assessing work and more accurate equalization.[34] Nevada provided that the state tax commission shall employ "a person qualified in the knowledge of property valuations, assessment of property, and general taxation" to serve the commission as chief valuation consultant. It is made the duty of the person so employed to develop standard assessment principles and procedures and supervise their application, review assessments made by county assessors to the end that equalization may be achieved as among the several counties, and conduct an in-service training program for county assessors. County and municipal governing bodies in Tennessee were authorized to contract with individuals, firms, or corporations for the rendering of advice and assistance to local assessors and boards of equalization. North Dakota relaxed her statutory tax-rate limits on counties, townships, and school districts; and the North Carolina legislature proposed a constitutional amendment to increase the maximum rate allowed for state and county purposes. Iowa established a state "military service tax credit fund" to be used to reimburse counties and other local units for all or a portion of the property tax losses incurred by them as a result of military credits and exemptions.[35]

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[34] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa,* 1947, ch. 240. See *supra,* "Creation and Abolition of Offices."

New Local Taxes. New local taxes were authorized in several states, the broadest enabling acts of the year being those of New York and Pennsylvania. New York counties outside New York city were empowered to impose various local taxes and license fees, at not more than specified maximum rates, for educational purposes. Included in the levies so authorized were taxes of 2 per cent on retail sales, 3 per cent on sales of food and drink in restaurants, cafés, and bars, and 5 per cent on admissions to theaters and various other places of amusement; taxes on retail liquor establishments at 25 per cent of the amount of their state license fees; an annual license fee of $10 on vending machines; and automobile license fees of $5 on non-commercial passenger cars weighing 3,500 pounds or less and $10 on heavier passenger vehicles and commercial trucks and buses. All proceeds from these county levies were required to be distributed among the school districts of the county on the basis of average daily attendance.[36] Acting promptly to take advantage of this new authority, Erie county (Buffalo) before the year's end levied a 1 per cent retail sales tax.[37]

Pennsylvania's first-class townships and most of the state's school districts were included, along with various municipalities, among some 3,600 political subdivisions which were granted "blanket" local taxing authority under the terms of an unusually broad statute. This law, patterned after an earlier act which applied only to Philadelphia, provides that the governing bodies of the local units concerned may tax any and all subjects within the state's taxing power, but which the state does not tax or license. Many local units, including townships and school districts, promptly took advantage of this grant of authority and imposed a variety of new local taxes. Most numerous among the new levies are admissions taxes on amusements, but also included are local income taxes, severance taxes, mercantile license taxes, and sundry levies of miscellaneous nature. Late in the year, the constitutionality of the "tax blanket" statute was upheld by the Pennsylvania supreme court in a case involving a local severance levy on coal, as against various contentions, including the charges that it constituted an improper delegation of the taxing power and was repugnant to the constitutional requirement that all taxes be uniform on the same class of subjects.[38] Exclusion of counties and second-class townships from the law's provisions was apparently due to the fact that there was little need or demand for additional taxing authority on the part of those units.[39]

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[35] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, chs. 231, 232; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 179; *Session Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina*, 1947, ch. 421; *Laws of North Dakota*, 1947, chs. 356, 359, 360, 361; *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1947, ch. 209.

[36] *Laws of New York*, 1947, ch. 278. This legislation, which also conferred power to impose various new levies upon New York City and other large municipalities, was amended in several respects by *Laws of New York*, 1948, ch. 651.

[37] Frederick C. Peitzsch, "New Sources of Municipal Revenue in 1947," *Municipal Year Book*, 1948, pp. 176–192.

Maryland counties and municipalities were empowered to tax admissions to places of amusement, such local levies to be collected by the state comptroller along with the state tax and returned, less costs of administration, to the levying units. County boards in Illinois were empowered to exact license fees from persons engaged in the entertainment or recreation business or in providing for lodging of transients; while Georgia counties were authorized to levy a tax upon fortune-tellers. Alabama provided for the levy in Jefferson county (Birmingham) of a county gasoline tax of 1 cent per gallon and county license taxes on the sale of cigarettes and smoking tobacco. These levies will be collected by the probate judge, and a part of the proceeds therefrom will be distributed to the county's municipalities. The new county taxes supersede the local gasoline and cigarette taxes formerly levied by Birmingham and other municipalities of the county. Nevada imposed an additional tax of one and one-half cents per gallon on gasoline in all counties in which the county commissioners do not decline the levy. The tax is to be collected by the state and returned to the county of origin for credit to its road and bridge fund, with a part of the proceeds apportioned to the municipalities of the county for street purposes.[40]

State Aid. State financial assistance to local governments has been constantly increasing during recent years—a recognition of the dual fact that many local functions are of statewide interest and that the state governments generally have preëmpted to themselves the more lucrative and flexible revenue sources. Perhaps because state legislatures are commonly controlled by rural representatives, counties and other rural units have commonly been treated more generously in the matter of state aid than have the municipalities. The local functions most heavily subsidized by the states, through grants-in-aid or tax sharing or both, are those of education, highways, and welfare, though less extensive aid is provided for the support of various other services. In their 1947 sessions, no less than 22 state legislatures are reported to have granted new or increased shares of state-collected taxes to local governmental units.[41] Total state aid to local governments in the 48 states, as reported by the Census Bureau, was 24.5 per cent greater in 1947 than in 1946. In only 4 states did the amount of aid remain constant or decline, while increases in the other 44 states ranged from 5.2 per cent in West Virginia to 87.5 per cent in North Carolina.[42]

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[38] *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1947, no. 481; *English* v. *School District of Robinson Township*, 358 Pa. 45 (1947); Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *Pennsylvania's New Local Tax Law in Operation* (Harrisburg, April 1, 1948). The law contains an over-all limitation to the effect that the amount of money raised by any subdivision from taxes imposed under the act may not exceed the amount which could be raised by imposition of the maximum permissible rate upon real estate.

[39] Cf. H. F. Alderfer, "Pennsylvania's New Local Taxes," *State Government*, Vol. 21, pp. 144–145, 154 (July, 1948).

[40] *General Laws of Alabama*, 1947 (reg. sess.), nos. 385, 414; *Acts and Resolutions of Georgia*, 1947, p. 1136; *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 740; *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 601; *Statutes of Nevada*, 1947, ch. 276; Peitzsch, *loc. cit.*

Purchasing. County boards in California were authorized to employ purchasing agents. Special acts in Tennessee established purchasing agencies for the counties of Henderson, Madison, Sequatchie, Sullivan, and Wilson. Joint purchasing agencies were established in Seattle, Washington, to serve the city and King county, and in Superior, Wisconsin, to serve the city, county, board of education, and board of vocational education.[43]

Borrowing. In the field of borrowing and debt administration, the outstanding development of the year was the empowering of local units to finance various public improvements through the issuance of revenue bonds. In Wisconsin, county housing authorities were authorized to issue such obligations for the financing of veterans' housing projects. California counties were empowered to issue revenue bonds for public beaches and harbors and public incinerators, and Iowa counties for the financing of hospital facilities. Certain Gulf-coast counties in Texas were authorized to use this means of financing the construction and operation of causeways, bridges, and tunnels; and a proposed amendment to the Georgia constitution, if ratified by the voters, will enable Fulton and DeKalb counties, as well as the city of Atlanta, to issue revenue-anticipation obligations to provide funds for the construction of stadiums. In North Carolina, the legislature proposed an amendment to remove constitutional debt limitations on the state and its counties and municipalities.[44]

V. HOME RULE AND OPTIONAL CHARTERS

Interest in county home rule was displayed during the year in several states, and in some instances steps were taken which may lead to the adoption of home-rule charters. The Washington legislature proposed a constitutional amendment to authorize counties to frame home-rule charters for their own government. If the proposal is approved by the state's voters, an election to choose a board of freeholders to frame a charter may be called in any county either by the county board or by petition. To become effective, a charter must be submitted to the voters of the county in a referendum election and approved by a majority of those voting on the question. In Texas, where the constitution confers charter-making power upon counties having 62,000 or more inhabitants and provides that the legislature may extend the authority to less populous counties by two-thirds vote, a special legislative act approved by the required majority authorized the people of Delta county to proceed with the framing and adoption of a charter.[45] With a 1940 population of some 13,000, Delta is apparently the first county of less than 62,000 population to seek and be granted charter-making authority under the constitutional provision.

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[41] Miner B. Phillipps, "Finance Administration in 1947," *Municipal Year Book,* 1948, pp. 163–167.

[42] United States Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of State Government Finances in 1947* (Washington, 1948), p. 28.

[43] *Statutes of California,* 1947, ch. 903; *Private Acts of Tennessee,* 1947, chs. 102, 261, 637, 642, 750; Albert H. Hall, "Municipal Purchasing in 1947," *Municipal Year Book,* 1948, pp. 173–176.

[44] *Statutes of California,* 1947, chs. 815, 822; *Acts and Resolutions of Georgia,* 1947, p. 1759; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa,* 1947, ch. 192; *Session Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina,* 1947, ch. 784; *General and Special Laws of Texas,* 1947, ch. 304; *Wisconsin Session Laws,* 1947, ch. 412.

Montgomery county, Maryland, where a proposed home-rule charter failed of adoption in 1944,[46] drafted another charter for submission to referendum vote. Like the 1944 proposal, the new charter provides for manager government; but in various other respects it differs from the earlier draft. Powers possessed by incorporated municipalities are expressly exempted from those to be exercised by the county council. The charter establishes finance, law, and public works departments, and provides that additional departments may be created by the council as needed. Provision is made for centralized purchasing, and for popular referenda on all bond issues.[47] In Jackson county (Kansas City), Missouri, the circuit and probate judges, pursuant to popular petition, appointed a bipartisan commission to draft a home-rule charter under the provisions of that state's new constitution.[48] The voters of Siskiyou county in California rejected a proposed home-rule charter which would have established a manager form of government.[49]

An unusual statute enacted in Michigan provides an optional form of government for urban and suburban townships. Under the terms of this act, any township having 5,000 or more inhabitants, or any township of 2,000 or more inhabitants which adjoins a city of more than 25,000 population, may incorporate as a "charter township" having the status of a municipal corporation. Incorporation is effected by popular referendum, the proposition being submitted either by the township board or by initiative petition. The governing board of any township so incorporated consists of the township supervisor, the clerk, the treasurer, and four trustees. Two of the four trustees are elected at each biennial election for four-year terms, and candidates for all of the enumerated offices are nominated in the primary election. The supervisor is president of the governing board, and serves as executive officer of the township unless a township superintendent is appointed. The township board of any charter township may, at its option, appoint a township superintendent and delegate to him any or all of a rather long list of functions and duties, which otherwise vest in the supervisor. These functions and duties include, among others, enforcement of township by-laws, preparation and administration of the annual budget, service as township purchasing agent and personnel director, the making of recommendations to the township board, management of public works and improvements, and responsibility to the township board for efficient administration of all departments of the township government. The superintendent is to be selected solely on the basis of training and ability, need not be a township resident when appointed, and holds office at the pleasure of the board. Township boards of charter townships are empowered to maintain police and fire departments, enact by-laws for protection of the public health, regulate the granting of licenses, and prescribe building regulations.[50]

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[45] *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1947, ch. 234; *Session Laws of Washington*, 1947, p. 1372.

[46] See this REVIEW, Vol. 39, p. 1111.

[47] Elwyn A. Mauck, notes in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 349 (June, 1947), Vol. 37, p. 514 (Oct., 1948).

[48] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 111 (Feb., 1948). See this REVIEW, Vol. 39, p. 1116, Vol. 41, p. 1139.

[49] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 416 (July, 1947).

In evaluating the Michigan legislation, Professor Arthur Bromage has pointed out that the term "charter township" is really a misnomer, since a township operating under the act does not have a charter except in a limited legal sense, its voters in fact merely adopting the rigid provisions of a state law. The legislation was seemingly enacted with a view to enabling the state's more populous townships to adopt a form of governmental organization better suited to their needs than the traditional township set-up, yet the plan provided appears to Professor Bromage to offer nothing that municipal organization would not afford except retention of the "township" title. Indeed, the plan actually offers less flexibility of governmental organization than municipal incorporation, while at the same time presenting shortcomings of its own. Partisan elections, for instance, are retained, as well as the election of administrative officers. While the township board *may* appoint a chief administrative officer (the superintendent), it is not required to do so. In practice, the board may be strongly tempted to refrain from such action, since its result would be to deprive one of the board's own members—the supervisor—of authority otherwise his. If a superintendent is not appointed, then the supervisor becomes an elective chief administrator. A further weakness of the plan lies in the fact that when a township incorporates, the entire township area, rural as well as densely populated, must be included.[51] All in all, though the plan may better fit the needs of urban communities than township government in its present form, organization as a charter township seems to offer no substantial advantage which might not be as well, or perhaps better, obtained by incorporation as a municipality. At least one township, however—that of Battle Creek—has already adopted the provisions of the new law.[52]

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[50] *Public Acts of Michigan*, 1947, no. 359.

In the Wisconsin legislature, a joint resolution for initiation of a constitutional amendment to permit optional forms of county government failed to secure passage in the state assembly.[53] Twice before, in 1939 and 1943, a similar proposal had been accorded first legislative approval only to be denied the necessary second approval two years later.

VI. INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Interlocal Relations. Coöperation among local governments in the use of their respective facilities and the providing of common services is becoming more and more prevalent. Under a 1947 statute, the highway commissioner of any Illinois township or road district may enter into an agreement with the highway commissioner of another township or road district, or with the governing authority of a county or municipality, "for the lease or exchange of idle machinery, equipment or tools belonging to the town or district, upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon." A South Dakota statute empowers counties to render financial aid to cities in the construction and operation of public hospitals. To provide such assistance, counties may expend unappropriated county funds, levy a special tax, or issue general-obligation bonds of the county.[54] Functional consolidation, as a special form of interlocal coöperation, has been considered at an earlier point.[55]

State-Local Relations. Each year sees further development of state assistance to, and supervision of, local governments. Nevada, in 1947, provided for a chief valuation consultant, within the state tax commission, to supervise county assessments.[56] South Dakota was reported to have established, in its state highway department, a special division to assist counties, upon request, in survey and engineering work in connection with federal-aid secondary road programs. Counties will be required to reimburse the state for the actual cost of such services.[57] A Florida statute provides for state assistance to local units in the construction of airport facilities. Any county, city, or town which owns and operates an airport may lease or convey a parcel of land to the Florida state improvement commission for construction thereon by the commission of an airport administration building. The building is to be constructed in accordance with plans jointly approved by the commission and the county or municipality concerned and, when obligations incurred in financing the project have been discharged, title thereto will revert to the local government.[58] As previously noted,[59] many states during the year expanded their programs of financial assistance to local units. Maryland established a state fiscal research bureau in the department of legislative reference to collect, tabulate, and publish comprehensive data concerning the finances of counties and municipalities, and to conduct studies of fiscal problems and needs.[60]

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[51] Arthur Bromage, "Evaluating the New Form of Government Optional for Michigan Townships," *Mich. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 20, pp. 135–136 (Dec., 1947).

[52] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 37, p. 288 (May, 1948).

[53] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *ibid.*, Vol. 36, pp. 469–470 (Sept., 1947). See *infra*, "Research."

[54] *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 1478; *Laws of South Dakota*, 1947, ch. 222.

[55] *Supra*, "Functional Consolidation."

[56] See *supra*, "The Property Tax."

Federal-Local Relations. The outstanding development of the year in the field of federal-local relations was the widespread enactment of state legislation permitting local governments to avail themselves of federal grants for airport purposes under the Federal Airport Act of 1946.[61] At least a third of the states enacted legislation of this character.[62] Most of the enabling acts included counties as well as municipalities among the local units which were authorized to seek and accept assistance under the terms of the federal law, and some extended the privilege to all political subdivisions. In some instances, the state aëronautics department was made the agent of the local units to act for them in the receiving, handling, and disbursing of federal-aid funds. No less than 178 county-sponsored airport improvement and construction projects were reported to have received federal aid in 1947 under the 1946 act. In addition, 129 surplus airports were reported to have been granted by the federal government to counties.[63]

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[57] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 351 (June, 1947).

[58] *General Acts and Resolutions of Florida*, 1947, p. 1069.

[59] *Supra*, "State Aid."

[60] *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 605.

[61] 60 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 170.

[62] *Public Acts of Connecticut*, 1947, no. 242; *Laws of Illinois*, 1947, p. 305; *Laws of Indiana*, 1947, ch. 114; *Laws of Maryland*, 1947 (reg. sess.), ch. 896; *Public Acts of Michigan*, 1947, no. 279; *Laws, Resolutions, and Memorials of Montana*, 1947, ch. 288; *Laws of Nebraska*, 1947, ch. 8; *Laws of New York*, 1947, ch. 489; *Laws of North Dakota*, 1947, ch. 1; *Session Laws of Oklahoma*, 1947, p. 15; *Oregon Laws*, 1947, ch. 497; *Laws of South Dakota*, 1947, ch. 4; *Laws of Utah*, 1947, ch. 7; *Session Laws of Washington*, 1947, ch. 165; *Acts of West Virginia*, 1947, ch. 12; *Wisconsin Session Laws*, 1947, ch. 548.

Continuing a trend begun two years earlier, several states empowered counties and other local units to purchase, directly or through state purchasing offices, surplus property offered for sale by the War Assets Administration or other federal agencies.[64] Counties in Iowa and Utah were authorized to coöperate with federal agencies in the construction of flood-control projects.[65] Local soil conservation districts continued to receive assistance from the federal Soil Conservation Service.

VII. RESEARCH

Three state agencies established in 1945 to study problems of county government[66] reported their findings and recommendations to 1947 legislative sessions. Wisconsin's interim committee on county government made five recommendations to the legislature: (1) that county fiscal duties be coördinated and placed under the management of a qualified officer designated or appointed by the county board; (2) that all county welfare activities, except those connected with the veterans' service officer, be coördinated under one welfare department by mandatory legislation; (3) that the fee system of compensating elective officers be abolished in all counties, and that those officers be placed on a straight salary basis; (4) that centralized purchasing be established in all counties under a purchasing agent designated by the county board, and that this be made mandatory for all purchases except those for the county highway department and county institutions; and (5) that a codification of the laws governing counties be undertaken. In a supplementary report, a minority of the committee's members insisted that these recommended statutory changes, although desirable, fail to strike at the fundamental obstacle to improvement of county government in the state, viz., the constitutional requirement of uniformity. The minority members urged the adoption of a constitutional amendment which would eliminate the requirement of uniformity in county government and permit the legislature to provide optional forms of government for adoption by popular referendum.[67] Bills to make effective the first four of the committee's recommendations,

[63] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 470 (Sept., 1947).

[64] *Acts of Arkansas*, 1947, no. 250; *General Acts and Resolutions of Florida*, 1947, p. 644; *General Laws of Idaho*, 1947, ch. 228; *Laws of New Mexico*, 1947, ch. 45.

[65] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of Iowa*, 1947, ch. 102; *Laws of Utah*, 1947, ch. 23A.

[66] See this REVIEW, Vol. 41, pp. 46–47.

[67] *Report of the Joint Interim Committee to Study County Government* (Madison, Wis., Feb., 1947).

and a resolution to initiate the constitutional change urged in the minority report, were introduced in the 1947 legislature; but all failed of passage.[68]

The report of New Hampshire's interim committee included various recommendations for legislative consideration, including integration of welfare activities, placing sheriffs and their deputies on salary rather than fee compensation, and adoption of microfilming or some similar process for the preservation of records in the place of existing antiquated methods. Recommendation was also made that another interim committee be established to make further study of county institutions.[69] In Alabama, the advisory commission on reorganization of local government in Jefferson county recommended: (1) extension of Birmingham's boundaries, subject to referendum in the entire area affected, to include all contiguous urban territory, both incorporated and unincorporated; (2) consolidation, subject to county-wide referendum, of the government of Birmingham, as enlarged, with that of Jefferson county; and (3) consolidation of the school systems of Birmingham and Jefferson county.[70] In line with these recommendations, the state legislature proposed a constitutional amendment which, if ratified by the state's voters, will enable the legislature, by general, local, or special law, to "provide any plan, kind, manner, or form of municipal government for Jefferson county, and whenever deemed necessary or advisable . . . abolish city or town government and unite, consolidate, or merge cities and towns and county, or a portion thereof, under one municipal government."[71] New York again extended the life of a temporary commission established in 1944 to study and revise the laws of the state relating to counties.[72]

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[68] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 657 (Dec., 1947); *supra*, "Home Rule and Optional Charters."

[69] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, pp. 225–226 (Apr., 1947).

[70] Roscoe C. Martin, "City-County Merger Proposed," *Nat. Munic. Rev.*, Vol. 36, pp. 367–370 (July, 1947).

[71] *General Laws of Alabama*, 1947 (reg. sess.), no. 591.

[72] *Laws of New York*, 1947, ch. 18. See this REVIEW, Vol. 39, p. 1117.

FOREIGN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

THE BRITISH CABINET AND THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

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The announcement in October, 1946, that in future a single Minister of Defense will sit in the British cabinet, and that the ministers of the three armed services will no longer be of cabinet rank, marks the culmination of a long and important trend in Britain's governmental organization. It is also of interest as the present British answer to advocates of a merger of the Navy, Army, and Air Force. To see the full meaning of this step, it is necessary to refer to two closely related problems of long standing: the question of the size of the cabinet and that of what is broadly known as imperial defense.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British cabinet, originally ten or eleven in number, increased to about fourteen or fifteen in the 1870's and 1880's. By the end of the century, however, increase of governmental services and multiplication of departments raised the normal size of cabinets to nineteen or twenty,[1] and after the first World War to twenty or even twenty-two. Since the cabinet as such functions as a committee, it has been frequently pointed out that the present size is too large for prompt and decisive deliberation; and the experience of two great wars has shown without question that large-scale planning and the coördination of the innumerable interlocking aspects of a national war effort require a much smaller and more cohesive group. The existence around the premier of an inner circle of three or four ministers, among whom many of the most important decisions are made, is as old as cabinet government, but cannot be satisfactory for modern needs. The socialist program of the present British government strongly underlines this fact. Nor does the growing use of cabinet committees for special subjects and *ad hoc* investigations suffice to provide what is in effect a general staff for the conduct of the affairs of the nation.

Actual experimentation with the central administrative machinery of Great Britain has taken place largely under the stress of war and preparation for war. Its recent history may conveniently be started with the formal constitution of the Committee of Imperial Defense (C.I.D.) in 1904. This Committee, an advisory body without executive functions, was nominated and presided over by the prime minister, who was free to call to it any British citizen whom he wished. The core of the Committee, or "permanent panel," has normally been renamed by each prime minister at the beginning of his term, and has comprised the cabinet members whose departments were concerned with war planning, the chiefs of staff of the services, and one or two top civil servants.[2] Other persons in large numbers were summoned for individual meetings and for the tasks of the very numerous subcommittees. The fundamental characteristics of the C.I.D. were, first, complete flexibility, and second, the maintenance of constitutional propriety in that the Committee is merely advisory to the cabinet.

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[1] Convenient lists of cabinets from 1783 to 1914 may be found in F. C. Carr, *Handbook of the Administrations of Great Britain* (London, 1869), and in R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870–1914* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 606–614.

In some ways, the most significant contribution of the C.I.D. was its secretariat. Prior to the first World War, the British cabinet had no office organization as such, no system of handling agenda and minutes. Neither discussions nor decisions of the cabinet were formally recorded except in the strictly private and personal letter written by the prime minister to the king.[3] The C.I.D., on the other hand, with its multiplicity of subcommittees and of detailed plans to be carried out by various government departments, developed perforce a strong permanent secretariat and record system. This was organized by Sir Maurice (now Lord) Hankey, who was the keystone of the organization from 1912 to 1938. In August, 1914, the C.I.D., weakened by the assignment of service members to field and administrative duties, was partly replaced by the cabinet. The series of unsatisfactory experiments of Asquith in conducting the war—War Council, Dardanelles Committee, War Committee—is well known; they were finally succeeded (December, 1916) by the Lloyd George war cabinet of five. Sir Maurice Hankey's secretariat, whose continuity of knowledge and records had proved invaluable, now achieved its fulfillment by providing a Cabinet Office, where expert and anonymous men and fully indexed files constitute the real hub of the British machinery of government. Hankey himself became "secretary" for almost all central and imperial purposes: the cabinet, the Privy Council, the international conferences at Paris in 1919 and Washington in 1921, the five Imperial Conferences between 1921 and 1937, etc.

After the war of 1914–18, the problems of cabinet organization and defense continued to be closely interwoven. The Haldane Committee of 1918 showed the desirability of grouping governmental functions in such a way as to produce smaller cabinets,[4] but the return to the old peacetime system was in fact made without intensive discussion. The idea of an Imperial Cabinet to include the Dominions in peace as well as in war was abandoned by 1922.[5] On the military side, it should be noted that the war had given birth to a third service, the Royal Air Force, with its own ministry; and the Geddes Committee, in 1922, recommended the creation of a Ministry of Defense. A committee under Lord Salisbury, reporting in 1924, attempted to come to grips with the defense problem: it rejected a single Ministry of Defense, but advised improvements in the organization of the C.I.D.[6] Since that time, however, "a substantial body of opinion has favored the unity of the services under a single cabinet minister, with a minister outside the cabinet at the head of each."[7]

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[2] H. L. Ismay, "The Machinery of the Committee of Imperial Defence," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, Vol. 84 (May, 1939), pp. 248–251.

[3] The most systematic discussion of this question is in Lord Hankey, *Diplomacy by Conference* (New York, 1946), Chaps. 2 and 3, especially pp. 52–56, 62–73. The inconvenience of the old system has often been commented on, for example, in the *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, Vol. III, 1916–17 (Boston, 1934), pp. 36–37, and in *Richard Burton Haldane: An Autobiography* (Garden City, New York, 1929), p. 231.

For ten years, until the period of rearmament following 1935, little attention was given to the organization of the cabinet as the central formulator of policies. In that period, "planning," whether of the social services or of defense, was not a serious issue. But again it was a sense of national danger that raised vital administrative questions, and by 1935 "coördination" of defense had become a lively issue. Mr. Baldwin yielded to the extent of appointing a Minister for the Coördination of Defense (March, 1936), but the functions of the new minister were really confined to liaison, and it was clear that he would not interfere in the work of the service departments.[8] Mr. Attlee, then leader of the Opposition, remarked that the new minister would be "like a little terrier running around barking to encourage everyone to get on with the work."[9] The most important aspect of the new appointment was probably that as deputy-chairman of the C.I.D. the Minister for Coördination could on occasion preside over the Chiefs of Staff Committee and thus link it more closely with the cabinet.[10]

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[4] *Report of the Machinery of Government Committee*, Cd. 9230, 1918.

[5] W. K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, I (Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 86–91; R. MacG. Dawson, *The Development of Dominion Status, 1900–1936* (Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 40–54.

[6] Cmd. 2029, 1924, pp. 16–18.

[7] W. Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 239.

[8] The official statement is in Cmd. 5107, pp. 13–15; cf. the defense debates in *Commons Debates*, Vol. 309, and *Lords Debates*, Vol. 100; W. Y. Elliott and H. D. Hall (eds.), *The British Commonwealth at War* (New York, 1943), pp. 174–175; *New Statesman and Nation*, Vol. 11 (Apr. 4, 1936), p. 524.

[9] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 309, Mar. 9, 1936, col. 1849; cf. *ibid.*, Mar. 10, col. 2065.

[10] Lord Salisbury pointed out that this was a position with much less responsibility and initiative than had been envisaged by his committee in 1924. *Lords Debates*, Vol. 100, Mar. 19, 1936, cols. 142–43.

The issue of "coördination" continued to be debated after 1936, but Chamberlain, succeeding Baldwin as prime minister in 1937, was not disposed to further experiment. Widespread demand for a Ministry of Supply was met by unyielding procrastination. So far as the armed services went, it was clear that they had no intention of seeing a separate ministry "set over them," any more than the prime minister had of introducing to the cabinet any real coördinator other than himself. The position of well-informed laymen was fairly represented by J. A. Spender, who commented that at least in peacetime the establishment of a Ministry of Defense would cause more trouble and friction than it would be worth.[11]

The war thus arrived with no very significant changes in the organization that had emerged from the years 1914–18. There was, to be sure, some recognition of the fact that total effort would be required. Organization for dealing with production, supply, and food was provided for on a scale in complete contrast to 1914; the prime minister had an experienced deputy for his relations with the Chiefs of Staff and the War Priorities Committee; and the C.I.D. was ready for its war-time conversion to the Defense Committee of the cabinet.[12] But no public plan had been made for a war cabinet on a definite model, nor for the manner of relating to each other and to the cabinet the numerous new administrative departments which war conditions were sure to proliferate.[13]

No attempt will be made here to survey British experience during the war except as it throws light on recent postwar developments.[14] Chamberlain's "war cabinet" of nine members included five heavily burdened heads of departments and was obviously a departure from the Lloyd George model of 1916–18. In it were the four men—Chamberlain, Simon, Halifax, and Hoare—who had formed the so-called "inner cabinet" since 1938.[15] Though a smaller cabinet without departmental duties was sometimes suggested,[16] criticism came to be focussed on the overweighting of the cabinet with the military in contrast to the under-representation of the economic activities of war.[17] On February 1, 1940, the Labor party pressed a full-dress demand for a Minister of War Economy, winning the support of Sir Archibald Sinclair, for the Liberals, and of Leopold Amery, one of the ablest and most experienced of the Conservatives not in office.[18] But Chamberlain, apparently unwilling to part with any portion of his own powers, was firmly negative. The fall of his Government in May, however, soon ended this phase and inaugurated the Churchill era.[19]

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[11] *Spectator*, Vol. 158 (Mar. 19, 1937), p. 508. In July, 1939, soon after the decision for conscription, a Ministry of Supply was set up. It was not given full powers of economic planning, nor was it intimately linked with the Minister for Coördination. Elliott and Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–181.

[12] The secretariat reorganization arising from Lord Hankey's retirement in 1938 is described in W. I. Jennings, "British Organization for Rearmament," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 53 (Dec., 1938), pp. 481–490.

[13] By February, 1941, eight new ministries had been created since the beginning of the war. *Commons Debates*, Vol. 369, Feb. 20, 1941, col. 287.

[14] The period of experimentation in the British organization for war is covered in Herman Finer, "The British Cabinet, the House of Commons, and the War," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 56 (Sept., 1941), pp. 321–360, and in Elliott and Hall, *op. cit.*

[15] Keith Feiling, *The Life of Neville Chamberlain* (London, 1946), p. 421.

[16] E.g., *Commons Debates*, Vol. 351, Oct. 4, 1939, col. 1944; *ibid.*, Vol. 358, Mar. 19, 1940, cols. 1880, 1903, 1911.

The cabinet arrangements by which the war was fought for more than five years saw Mr. Churchill as prime minister taking also the title of Minister of Defense, the abandonment of a Minister of Coördination, and a war cabinet of five members later increased to seven or eight.[20] Inevitably the central direction of the war took form largely in terms of Mr. Churchill's unique and overpowering personality. While there was much experimentation, some of it political in motive, with the handling at cabinet level of the economic side of the war effort, on the military ("defense") side the Churchillian pattern underwent little real change during his premiership. To put it in non-constitutional but not unrealistic terms, Mr. Churchill was chairman of three interlocked groups which together were responsible for planning and strategy at the top level: the war cabinet, the Defense Committee of the cabinet—much the same in membership as the peacetime Committee of Imperial Defense—and the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Again it should be noted that all this system of committees was tied together by the secretariat; for the cabinet and C.I.D. secretariats, very incompletely separated even after Lord Hankey's retirement, were merged at the outbreak of war. The united organization supplied the staff for the Minister of Defense as well as for the prime minister. General Ismay, who in 1938 had succeeded to the C.I.D. portion of Lord Hankey's inheritance, now became a member of the Chiefs of Staff committee as representative of Mr. Churchill and as head of its secretarial staff.[21]

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[17] *New Statesman and Nation*, Vol. 18 (Sept. 16, 1939), p. 392; *Commons Debates*, Vol. 356, Jan. 16, 1940, cols. 18, 48, 53.

[18] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 356, Feb. 1, 1940, cols. 1309–1432, especially at cols. 1309–33, 1355–65, 1427–28. The Marquis of Salisbury shared the desire for a Minister of War Economy. *Lords Debates*, Vol. 116, May 8, 1940, col. 304. See the acute comments of W. I. Jennings in *Political Quarterly*, vol. 11 (1940), pp. 190–191.

[19] A minor but interesting twist was that Churchill became in effect Minister of Defense a month before Chamberlain's fall. On April 4, 1940, the office of Minister of Coördination "lapsed" and Churchill, "as senior Service Minister," took over its functions. Discussion of this change was muffled by the great crisis of early May. *Commons Debates*, Vol. 359, Apr. 11, 1940, col. 699; *ibid.*, Vol. 360, May 7, cols 1084–85, 1092; May 8, col. 1302.

[20] There has been some misunderstanding about the war cabinets of 1916–1919 and 1940, and the magic number "five" need not be taken as seriously as has often been done. In fact, both the Lloyd George and Churchill cabinets not only tended to grow in formal numbers, but were very frequently attended by certain ministers with a "right" of access, and by others called when the agenda concerned their departments.

Discussion of the machinery of government during the war was sometimes vigorous, but necessarily dominated by considerations of efficiency in the immediate emergency. There were persistent voices asking for a war cabinet of men with no departmental duties whatever, for a Minister of Defense separate from the prime minister, for a professional service officer to head the Chiefs of Staff. But it was not until 1944 that much thought seems to have been given to postwar defense organization. The first and most elaborate proposal was made by Lord Chatfield, who had been the Coördination Minister in 1939–40. At first in the press and later in Parliament,[22] he put forward a plan for a Defense Council and an advisory Defense Board. His suggestion called for a Minister of Defense who should rank in the cabinet next to the prime minister, and was designed to achieve three main purposes: to take defense questions entirely out of party politics; to provide a complete defense plan that should be permanent over a series of years; and to terminate the influence of the Treasury in allocating funds among the three services. There were constitutional objections to Lord Chatfield's plan and some question as to how much improvement it would be over the C.I.D. system,[23] so that despite several informed debates in the House of Lords,[24] no real postwar planning seems to have started.

The new Labor Government at the close of the war was committed, as no previous British government has been, to the idea of "planning." It was obvious that the old prewar cabinet system is particularly ill-adapted to the development and carrying out of a socialist program. The Labor party had made this evident long before. In the "Short Programme" set forth by Mr. Attlee in 1937 is to be found almost the only attempt to voice suggestions on the central machinery of government based on what one might call political science. The first principle of good administration, he wrote, is to distinguish between broad planning and detailed execution. The cabinet ministers without portfolio should be charged with functions, not departments. "Each should, in his own sphere, be, so to speak, the representative of the Prime Minister in relation to a particular group of services, and should preside over a committee of the Ministers charged with administration. Thus the general coördination of the social services would fall to one Minister. Defence would be the care of another, economic policy of a third, and external relations of a fourth."[25] Here was a revival of the principles of the Haldane Committee and a blueprint for reorganization when the Labor party should come to power.

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[21] An illuminating White Paper, *The Organization for Joint Planning*, Cmd. 6351, 1942, was issued in response to criticisms on this subject. It should be read in connection with *Commons Debates*, Vol. 378, Feb. 24, 1942, cols, 40–42 and Vol. 380, May 19, 1942, col. 63.

[22] Lord Chatfield, *Defense After the War* (London, 1944, reprinted from the *Sunday Times*); *Lords Debates*, Vol. 131, Mar. 28, 1944, cols. 273–285; *ibid.*, Vol. 135, March 7, 1945, cols. 356–369.

[23] Hankey in *Lords Debates*, Vol. 131, Mar. 28, 1944, cols. 285–292.

[24] As above and Mar. 29, 1944, Dec. 6, 1944, Nov. 14, 1945.

In the fields of domestic and foreign policy, the Attlee Government of July, 1945, could develop ministers in charge of broad functions without fanfare and without argument in Parliament. This was done, and it became understood that in the cabinet of twenty, Herbert Morrison (Lord President of the Council) was coördinator of the ministries dealing with economic planning, and Arthur Greenwood (Lord Privy Seal) of those concerned with the social services. Similarly, it became evident in the course of the Government's first year that Mr. Bevin was taking final responsibility not only for the Foreign Office proper but for the broad lines of colonial policy. The complex of problems under the head of "defense," however, was not so easy. Here the traditional importance of the individual armed services and their rivalry for funds, the existence of a lively debate as to the desirability of a "Combined General Staff," the importance of the Dominions for the organization of imperial defense, and the peculiar responsibilities of the prime minister as chairman of the C.I.D., made a quick and undiscussed decision quite impossible. Defense policy was also tied up with questions of manpower and demobilization and was constantly modified by economic considerations and by a rapidly changing international situation. More than seven months after the end of the war, it appeared that the C.I.D. had not been reconstituted by the Labor Government,[26] and all the Prime Minister could say was that the higher defense organization was being studied.[27]

Meanwhile, in the House of Lords, which is liberally studded with ex-ministers, former Chiefs of Staff of the Services, and other high-ranking retired officers, there was vigorous discussion of the merger of the Services at the top staff level. There had always been some proponents in England of the German system of an *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, and the disadvantages of the British committee system for the Chiefs of Staff were familiar.[28] But pressure within the Services for a Great General Staff and a Ministry of Defense was never a tithe of that against it, though not all opponents went so far as Field Marshal Sir William Robertson, who condemned the idea as "fantastical and dreadfully mischievous."[29] The war calamities of 1942 naturally brought up the question,[30] and it was again revived in March, 1946, under the impetus of an impending meeting of Empire prime ministers. Lord Hutchison's strong plea, however, met a direct negative from the Government. It was pointed out that an imitation of the discredited German OKW could hardly be attractive; that the British committee system, extended to Anglo-American use in Washington, had successfully directed the war effort of the United Nations, and, finally, that "a high power staff capable of giving directions to everybody all over the world" would certainly not be the way to obtain the help of the British Dominions.[31] So far as the Lords went, there was pretty general agreement that defense was such an all-embracing subject that at least in time of war the prime minister would have to have it as his responsibility. But no clear lead was given as to the best peacetime arrangements.

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[25] C. R. Attlee, *The Labour Party in Perspective* (London, 1937), pp. 173–174. G. D. H. Cole, *A Plan for Democratic Britain* (London, 1939), p. 238, is less official and vaguer. There was no response in Parliament to Attlee's emphatic criticism on the same lines of thought at the beginning of the war. *Commons Debates*, Vol. 351, Sept. 26, 1939, col. 1247.

[26] *Lords Debates*, Vol. 140, Mar. 27, 1946, col. 433.

[27] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 420, Mar. 4, 1946, cols. 47–48.

[28] E.g., Sir Frederick Maurice in the *Spectator*, Vol. 156 (Jan 10, 1936), p. 43; *Round Table*, Vol. 26 (June, 1936), p. 469, quoting Lord Trenchard.

The Government's White Paper of October, 1946,[32] promises to end these discussions for the time being and, in its own words, "carries a stage further the process of steady evolution" which has been taking place for forty years. Rejecting amalgamation of the Services, a Combined General Staff, and even an independent chairman for the Chiefs of Staff Committee,[33] it is nevertheless decided to set up a minister and a Ministry of Defense. The C.I.D. ceases in name and is succeeded by the Defense Committee of the cabinet. The prime minister will still be chairman, but the Minister of Defense will normally deputize for him "when international relations are stable."[34] This use of a deputy chairman is exactly what the Salisbury Committee advised and Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald did not do. In addition, the Minister of Defense will apportion resources among the Services—this was the point to which Lord Chatfield so often referred—and correlate their research and production programs. He will also have some not very clearly specified administrative duties in fields common to the three Services, and will administer Combined Operations Headquarters and the Joint Intelligence Bureau.

The White Paper was received with approval by the press and, in general, by Parliament. In fact, some of the leaders of the Conservative Opposition had been consulted before the scheme was framed. The discussions showed some doubts as to the degree to which the new minister would be involved in administration. It was pointed out that his responsibility for "common services," such as the medical, dental, and supply needs of the forces, would tend to build up a department in which the Minister of Defense would have so much administrative detail that his coördinating and planning functions might be threatened. The answer to this was that the situation is eminently flexible, that actual amalgamation of the Services may eventually come,[35] but that for the time being the ministry will be started with a "relatively small staff," drawn presumably from the military side of the cabinet secretariat. The prospective minister, A. V. Alexander, promised that he would try very hard not to get "cluttered up by unnecessary detail."[36] None the less, a growing ministry is clearly envisaged.

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[29] Cmd. 2029, 1924, p. 16.

[30] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 378, Feb. 24, 1942, Vol. 380, May 19–20, 1942, Vol. 381, July 2, 1942; Sir Edward Grigg in *The Times*, Apr. 11, 1942; *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1943, p. 10.

[31] *Lords Debates*, Vol. 140, Mar. 27, 1946, cols. 375–381, 418, 420, 428.

[32] *Central Organization for Defence*, Cmd. 6923, 1946. 12 pp.

[33] Par. 15–18. [34] Par. 25.

Most of the criticism of the White Paper bore on the question of liaison with the Dominions, a matter not relevant to the present discussion. But from the point of view of constitutional practice, a change is to be noted. The replacement of the C.I.D. by a Defense Committee of the cabinet was, as Lord Hankey insisted, something of a break with the past.[37] The old C.I.D. was strictly an advisory body; the new Defense Committee, like other ministerial committees, will have certain executive powers. That, in fact, is the reason why a new name had to be assigned and the old Committee of Imperial Defense, despite all its prestige, given up.[38] It appears also that the Defense Committee will be smaller and more fixed in membership than was the C.I.D., similar as it is in the personnel on which it draws. It is interesting that Anthony Eden, with much experience both before and after 1940, seems to be well satisfied with this change.[39]

The replacement of the three Service ministers by the Minister of Defense reduced the membership of the cabinet from twenty to eighteen. Any reduction should, as *The Times* remarked, at least slightly enhance the efficiency of that body.[40] The real significance of the step, however, lies in its recognition of the principle of the grouping of the top staff work of government by function rather than by departments. Departments headed by ministers, Mr. Attlee pointed out, had increased from fifteen to twenty-seven since 1914.[41] A double process of evolution, though by no means new, becomes increasingly clear. On one hand, standing committees, "acting under authority devolved from the Cabinet,"[42] help to free the cabinet from excessive work on detail. Such is the Steering Committee on economic planning under Herbert Morrison, on which the key economic departments are represented, but which has available a considerable technical staff.[43] The Defense Committee will be of the same nature. On the other hand, individual ministers, perhaps themselves without portfolio, are concentrating attention on policy in particular spheres of action, though working through the standing committees and subject to the authority of the cabinet as a whole.

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[35] The White Paper itself says this. Par. 15.

[36] *Lords Debates*, Vol. 143, Oct. 16, 1946, col. 313; *Commons Debates*, Vol. 428, Oct. 30–31, 1946, especially cols. 638, 708–709, 795–798, 865, 873.

[37] *Lords Debates*, Vol. 143, Oct. 16, 1946, col. 306.

[38] Attlee in *Commons Debates*, Vol. 428, Oct. 30, 1946, col. 622; Addison in *Lords Debates*, Vol. 143, Oct. 16, 1946, col. 332.

[39] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 420, Mar. 5, 1946; Vol. 428, Oct. 31, 1946, cols. 861–862.

[40] *The Times*, Oct. 5, 1946, p. 5.

[41] *Commons Debates*, Vol. 428, Oct. 30, 1946, col. 622.

It would be tempting—and quite unrealistic—to chart the Attlee cabinet at two levels: immediately under the prime minister, the Ministers for Economic Planning, Social Services, External Affairs, and Defense; and in the next rank, the heads of those departments coming within each of these fields. At any rate, it is notable that the present stage of evolution reflects particularly the views of Mr. Attlee, which, in turn, were anticipated by the Haldane Committee of 1918. As Lord Samuel said, the British cabinet "is apparently now going through a quiet and silent chrysalis stage; later it will emerge into a fully developed and brilliant butterfly of the Haldane species."[44] Meanwhile, the functional grouping trend, with its Minister of Defense, provides a very interesting approach to the problem of coördinating the armed services. If merger of the services is to grow from within, the Ministry of Defense is there to stimulate and make it easy; but the pace is not to be forced.

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[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Address by Herbert Morrison, "Economic Planning in Britain," Oct. 17, 1946, British Information Services release ID 685, p. 4.

[44] *Lords Debates*, Vol. 143, Oct. 16, 1940, col. 300.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

JAMES MARSHALL

United States National Commission for UNESCO

One wonders what the ghosts of Talleyrand and Franklin would say were they to visit the diplomatic conferences of today. Where is the suave approach, the graceful phrase concealing bloody warnings dropped by a king to the music of a minuet or passed by an ambassador to a minister of state over the after-dinner port? How surprised they would be at the blunt Bevin with his frequently unconcealed ill humor, at Molotov, rude and blustering, at Byrnes publicly changing his course in midstream, at Marshall announcing state policy in speeches rather than to plenipotentiaries or through official documents.

How surprised Talleyrand and Franklin would be to think of international relations carried on pursuant to slogans such as "open covenants openly arrived at." How their shrewd eyes would have twinkled at the credulity of people who believed that they had democratized foreign affairs through such a slogan. The old school diplomats would scarely have confused headlines which report in large black type the speeches of the diplomats, or the political gossip columns which purport to repeat the whispered asides of statesmen, with covenants democratically negotiated.

The fact is that although we have gained publicity for foreign affairs, and that in itself is important, we have not democratized foreign affairs. They are still the business of technicians. They remain the preserve of foreign offices.

Of all administrative departments, the diplomatic and the military have been the least receptive of democratic patterns. As to foreign relations, this has been the result of two fallacies: (1) the idea that things diplomatic are necessarily and essentially top secret; (2) the misconception that the Bevins, the Molotovs, the Byrneses, and the Marshalls can conduct foreign relations without being required to give a blow by blow accounting to public opinion. The former is untrue; the latter no longer possible. But we still romanticize about the confidential character of the material of diplomacy and the skilful intrigue which we deem to be the art of the statesman.

There are, however, in certain democratic countries roots from which more democratic foreign relations could grow. The great institution of the question put by a member of the House of Commons to the prime minister or the minister of foreign affairs not merely brings information to the public, but inevitably humbles any would-be autocrat in the British Foreign Office. The equally important institution of Congressional hearings also has a sobering effect on administrative officers. For a Congressional committee can not only call the Department of State on the carpet; it can give an opportunity to the interested public to express its views concerning the principles of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations.

Such parliamentary questions and committee studies represent one aspect of democratizing administration. They afford the opportunity for a public canvassing and examination of the acts and aims of the administrators. They make the public partners in knowledge; they give to the public the facts upon which they may base critical analyses and make recommendations to the administrators. They fall short, however, of a most fundamental element in democratic procedure. For to be able to question administrators *after* the fact, *after* they have acted, is insufficient. Action itself remains untouched by the democratic process. Not until there is broader participation in the planning, the development, and the execution of foreign policy can it be said that the people take part in their own foreign relations.

Occasionally, in especially dramatic situations, the people make their opinions felt. Thus it was the strong popular reaction to the by-passing of the United Nations by President Truman that resulted in the Vandenberg amendments to the proposals to aid Greece and Turkey. But in most situations it is the middle levels of foreign offices which, untouched to any great degree by the lay public, mark the trails which become the roads of international policy.

"How can you expect the layman to take part in the planning, development, and execution of foreign policy?," the foreign office official will inquire. That is the question asked by technicians in all fields. The jurist asked it as to lay arbitrators; yet we know today that commercial transactions are facilitated by arbitration, and labor disputes which are sometimes fought but rarely settled in courts are more frequently solved in a satisfactory manner by lay arbitration or mediation. The physician and the psychiatrist often ask similar questions of education; yet we know that public health and mental hygiene cannot progress except as teachers devote themselves to these problems in the schools. The engineer and the plant manager put the same question in industry; yet we know now that the psychological effect of worker participation in planning is to increase efficiency.

Professional pride, professional defensiveness, tends in every field to discount the layman. It tends to build up a cult of expertness, an almost mystical cloud-throne guarded by the cherubim of a special technical language. In the field of politics, in its extreme form, this separatism of technicians leads to the police state with its NKVDs and its Gestapos to liquidate presumptuous laymen. In its more moderate expression, the political technician and the bureaucrat simply treat the layman as one who lives on the wrong side of the tracks of wisdom.

Fortunately, we have had some recent successful experiences in the participation of laymen in foreign relations. These may not supply sufficient criteria for final judgment as to the effectiveness of democratic procedures in that field. But they point a way. Just as we can say that a citizen army can be a top-flight instrument of war, we now can add that there is evidence that a citizen diplomacy is a promising implement of peace.

In 1945, the State Department invited three or four voluntary organizations especially interested in the agenda to send representatives to the Chapultepec Conference held in Mexico City by the Western Hemisphere nations. This was a first hesitant experiment in citizen diplomacy. At the San Francisco Conference, the United States made another trial of this new technique. It invited 42 national organizations to send consultants to the Conference which was to draw the United Nations Charter. These organizations represented, among others, labor, business, agriculture, education, lawyers, women, veterans, religious, civic, and peace groups. They represented thirty to forty million Americans associated in voluntary organizations expressive of their interests as private citizens.

Almost daily during the course of the San Francisco Conference, these consultants met with members of the American delegation, their advisers or technical experts, and discussed Conference developments with them. They submitted memoranda on various points at the request of the delegation. They gave the delegation the feel of the nation on issues which arose—a much more personal and direct feel than could be had through the filter of editorial writers and commentators.

These consultants, these laymen participating in the planning and development of critical international relations, made a number of specific proposals to the American delegation which found their way into the Charter. For example, under the leadership of Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, the efforts of the consultants resulted in the inclusion of the human rights provision. The inclusion of education in the field of the Economic and Social Council was in large measure due to the work of the consultants led by Dr. William G. Carr and Dr. George Zook.

The presence and participation of these consultants at San Francisco contributed immeasurably to American understanding of the Charter, to American eagerness to join the United Nations, and to the overwhelming approval of the Charter by the Senate. The support of the U. N. by the people of this country is largely attributable to the challenge given to the consultants by their invitation to the San Francisco Conference. Furthermore, these consultants, and more indirectly the organizations they represented, had staked out something of a vested interest in the United Nations as a result of the time, thought, and effort they had devoted to the creation of the Charter.

A second instance of the democratization of foreign affairs is to be found in the United States National Commission for UNESCO. This institution grows out of the provision of the UNESCO constitution. Article VII provides that "each member state shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters with the work of the Organization, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies." Such National Commissions, or national coöperating bodies, according to the constitution, are to act "in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organization and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it," and are to be consulted by their governments in the selection of delegates to UNESCO. These clauses stem largely from proposals made in this country and pushed by the United States delegation to the Conference in London which prepared the draft of the UNESCO constitution in 1945.

How did the State Department treat the opportunity to apply on a permanent basis the experiences with the consultants at San Francisco? How did it make use of this invitation to gain popular support for UNESCO and bring democratic procedures into one phase of international relations? It drew closer its cloak of bureaucratic pride. It consulted its little entourage of trusted advisers, who regarded not only diplomacy but also education, science, and culture as the domain of the expert. It caused to be introduced into Congress a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of State "to designate, for such periods of service as he may determine, not to exceed 30 persons broadly representative of the educational, scientific, and cultural interests of the United States, to serve on the National Commission."

In other words, the Department of State intended to keep a tight hold on popular participation through hand-picked individuals. But this is quite different from the United States "associating its *principal bodies* interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters with the work of the Organization." The bodies themselves could be represented only by persons of their own choice.

A number of organizations which had been urging the establishment of UNESCO appeared before Congress to protest this attempt to create a house organ of the State Department out of the opportunity for popular participation in our international cultural relations. The whole point of a national commission would have been missed if the principal bodies in this country interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters had been omitted. The voice of UNESCO would rarely reach the schoolroom or the woman's club or the laboratory except through the releases of the State Department or the pronouncements of its 30 representative favorites. Nor would the desire of great numbers of people to participate in the development of the UNESCO program, in playing a part in international relations in their own fields, have been tapped by the official plan.

The Congress was induced to change the proposed organization of the United States National Commission for UNESCO. It provided for a National Commission of 100 members, 40 of whom were to be outstanding persons selected by the Secretary of State, including not more than 10 federal government employees, not more than 15 representatives of state and local educational, scientific, and cultural interests, and not more than 15 persons chosen at large, and 60 "representatives of principal national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters." The Commission is vested with power to review periodically the list of organizations designating representatives "in order to achieve a desirable rotation among organizations represented."

In addition, the National Commission is directed to call general conferences for the discussion of matters relating to UNESCO, to which conferences organizations actively interested in the problems of UNESCO shall be invited to send representatives, and special conferences of experts to consider specific matters relating to UNESCO. In this way, representatives of popular organizations and experts, as well as individual national and local leaders, are enabled to take part in the development of policy and the domestic operation of the program of UNESCO.

The first meeting of the National Commission took place in September, 1946, with leadership taken by the representatives of national organizations. The interest was intense, and the National Commission spent the greater part of three days in developing a program for the American delegation to the UNESCO Conference. At the conclusion of the Commission meeting, the Executive Committee met with Assistant Secretary of State William Benton to discuss the names of possible delegates to the UNESCO Conference to be held in Paris in November, 1946. There was also discussion of the principles to be applied in the selection of the delegation. As selected, the delegation was made up largely of persons who were members of the National Commission and almost entirely of persons who had been discussed and supported by the Executive Committee.

At the conference of UNESCO held in Paris in 1946, the American delegation was in large measure successful in establishing its point of view on the program of the Organization. This does not mean, of course, that the American delegation had its own way in everything. It did not. But because of the preparation that had been made by the National Commission and the staff of the State Department, it was one of the best prepared, if not the best prepared, delegations at the conference on matters of program and policy. Where the United States delegation failed was on points that had not been discussed by the National Commission—the matter of administration, the matter of budgeting, the matter of the appointment of the Director-General.

The failure of the United States delegation in these respects was due in part to the inadequacy of the State Department's political preparations, that is, its understanding of the temper of other delegations. But above all, it was due to the fact that the delegation itself was not adequately prepared. And in the case of the director-generalship it can hardly be said that the delegation had its heart in supporting the American candidate. There was no one who did not respect him, but there was unquestionable resentment in the delegation that the important matter of policy involved in the selection of a Director-General had never been discussed with the National Commission. The Department had therefore failed to gain both the immediate wholehearted support of its delegation and the support of the people at home who must play a fundamental rôle in making UNESCO effective in this country.

At the Mexico City Conference in 1947, there was another example of the danger of leaving cultural relations to State Department determination. The United States abstained from voting on the resolution to admit Hungary to membership in UNESCO. Although the United States delegation was almost unanimously opposed to bringing into UNESCO the political problems that beset the United Nations, State Department policy overrode these objections and directed the delegation to refrain from voting because United States policy in the United Nations had opposed the admission of Hungary. This was an unfortunate introduction of power politics into the cultural field, which most of the lay members of the delegation and some of the departmental advisers appreciated. It is unfortunate that the United States National Commission did not have an opportunity to express its view on this point.

Certainly the lesson of the consultants of San Francisco had application here. Their participation demonstrated the strength of the following that could be developed throughout the country when representatives of great popular organizations took part in the Conference.

There are, of course, thousands of organizations in this country which cannot find a place in the limited membership of the National Commission for UNESCO. They, too, have a part to play in broadening international understanding through education, science, and culture. Under the provisions of the enabling act, there have been a national conference in Philadelphia and regional conferences in Denver and San Francisco in which members of these organizations found opportunities to become acquainted with the work of UNESCO and to bring to the National Commission their views on the policy which the United States should pursue. The conferences were successful, hundreds of organizations and thousands of people having participated.

In connection with UNESCO, as at the San Francisco Conference, the United States has set up a pilot plant on citizen diplomacy. Other nations have been slower to create national commissions. Some of them are working with "national coöperating bodies" interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters. But great interest has been shown in the United States National Commission. Just prior to the 1948 meeting of UNESCO in Beirut, a meeting of representatives of national commissions was held. It was presided over by Milton S. Eisenhower, chairman of the United States National Commission.

Votes or plebiscites on the question of war or peace are impractical. Events move at times too rapidly to make them appropriate. Momentary passions may even make them dangerous. Nevertheless, if we believe in the democratic principle that in the long run the people themselves rather than those who occupy places in their governments are the best judges of what is good for people, we must give the public better access to technicians of foreign affairs. This can best be done by admitting the people themselves more and more to the planning stages of foreign relations and to greater participation in international conferences. Secretary Byrnes would have been greatly strengthened in Paris at the meeting of Foreign Ministers if he had been accompanied by a group of consultants such as was present by invitation at San Francisco. General Marshall would have benefited in Moscow from a similar arrangement.

Such participation must be inadequate when limited to hand-picked individuals. Such persons will inevitably tend to represent views which the appointing officials wish to hear. Courtiers and kitchen cabinets soon lose their sensitivity to the pulse and heartbeats of the mass of the people. Where there are voluntary bodies, their representatives will give a more genuine picture of the ideas of the people themselves. Such voluntary bodies will prove the backbone of any organized popular participation in international affairs.

The Information and Educational Exchange Act (the Smith-Mundt bill) recently adopted by Congress provides for the participation of laymen in the informational and cultural relations of the State Department. Two commissions are set up to represent the public interest, the Commission on Information and the Commission on Educational Exchange. They are, among other things, directed to "formulate and recommend to the Secretary policies and programs for the carrying out of this Act." Thus for the second time Congress expressed its confidence in laymen to help formulate foreign policy.

Again, in the Foreign Assistance Act provision has been made for a Public Advisory Board consisting of the administrator and 12 additional members appointed by the President subject to Senatorial approval. It is unfortunate that neither act goes one step further, permitting voluntary organizations to nominate members of the two commissions and of the Public Advisory Board.

Both at the San Francisco Conference and in the United States National Commission for UNESCO, business, agriculture, labor, education, science, the arts, higher learning in the various fields of culture, the churches, and women's groups have demonstrated their capacity to bring to the responsible public officials the voice and support of the American people. These experiments—and the provisions of the Smith-Mundt bill—indicate the road to democratizing foreign relations, one of the most resistant fields to the entry of the layman.

It is questionable whether peace can be preserved by the efforts of technicians, even the most high-minded. They sit alternately on pedestals and in anxious seats, neither of which is favorable to a free flow of understanding with the public in whose name they purport to speak. If, however, as the constitution of UNESCO proclaims, "wars begin in the minds of men, and it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," the great resource of the minds of laymen must be tapped and conduits prepared through which their energies may flow to the maintenance of an affirmative peace.

If, as we commonly believe today, it is men rather than states that are the ultimate foundations of good will, then every possible means must be explored to enable men to plan and participate in the expression of international good will. We shall continue to require the skills of Talleyrands and Franklins. But to be effective in maintaining peace, they must now speak the minds of citizen diplomats, of great masses of people, rather than of dynasties, political parties, or ruling groups.

INSTRUCTION AND RESEARCH

THE "GREAT ISSUES" COURSE AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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Dartmouth's new required course for seniors, called "Great Issues," is avowedly an exercise in training for more effective citizenship. Its twofold purpose is to arouse in students a greater sense of public-mindedness and to make them more competent in the use and evaluation of the common sources of public information. Thus the Great Issues course, dealing with college students at the moment of their greatest undergraduate maturity, is pointed toward the problems of citizenship which beset a person in his adult years, just as it is also pointed toward the problems of adult education. It might, therefore, be described as an attempt to facilitate the transition from the methods of undergraduate instruction to the methods which adult citizens have to rely upon in securing the information necessary for making well-informed decisions.

The principal textbook in the course is the daily and Sunday editions of either the *New York Times* or the *New York Herald Tribune*, according to the student's choice. Other reading assignments are such official or semi-official publications as the Acheson-Lilienthal report, the Supreme Court decision and minority opinion in Everson v. The Board of Education of the Township of Ewing, and *To Secure These Rights.* Students are required also to read in entirety designated numbers of such magazines as the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Saturday Review of Literature*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *The Nation*, and *Foreign Affairs*, as well as a few particularly apposite current books. Last year, for example, the students read the Hutchins Commission report on *A Free and Responsible Press*, and this year they are reading the Nieman Fellows' *Your Newspaper*. Similar assignments have included John Hersey, *Hiroshima;* Cord Meyer, Jr., *Peace or Anarchy?*; E. H. Carr, *The Soviet Impact on the Western World;* and Fairfield Osborn, *Our Plundered Planet.* In all of this the object is to draw the student's attention to the range of available sources of information on public affairs and to increase his critical capacity in the use of them.

Such, too, is the purpose of the term papers. In the first semester, the student is required to make a comparative study for a period of two weeks of how various newspapers and news magazines dealt with a certain topic of important current news, such as the E.C.A., or the French economic and political situation, or the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The newspapers and other documents and general background material requisite for the preparation of such a paper are assembled for the student's convenience in a specially constructed room called the Public Affairs Laboratory. This room provides an opportunity for students to be in touch with document and instructor simultaneously, and its wall space permits the use of effective exhibits. A recent exhibit, posted for the course, studied newspapers comparatively and illustrated the following criteria: Does your newspaper carry enough news and a judicious selection of news? Does it consistently play up or play down certain types of news? Does it load the headlines and editorialize in the news columns? What "slant," if any, is suggested by its use of cartoons and choice of photographs? It was this exhibit which brought upon the Great Issues course the displeasure of the *Chicago Tribune.*

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The second semester term paper requires the student to study the constitution, history, activities, and publications of eight out of some thirty-five privately organized groups, many of them colloquially referred to as "pressure groups." Material concerning these groups—among them (to list a few examples) the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Veterans Committee, the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Economic Development, the National League of Women Voters, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the American Jewish Committee—is assembled in the Public Affairs Laboratory. Term papers each semester are expected to be about 4,000 words in length.

As for the lectures, their function is to identify the issues rather than to tell the students the solution of them. In planning the course, however, the Steering Committee quickly found that an attempt to state the issues necessitates reference to the points of view of the humanities and of the natural sciences as well as of the social sciences. The course therefore stresses not the divisional separations but the interrelationships of the social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences. This can be shown by citing the titles of the main divisions of the course—Modern Man's Political Loyalties, The Scientific Revolution and the Radical Fact of Atomic Energy, International Aspects of World Peace and American Aspects of World Peace (suggesting that the problem of peace is indivisible), and What Values for Modern Man?

Lectures in the course occur on Monday evenings at 8:30 and on

Tuesday and Thursday mornings at 11:15. Outside guest lecturers speak to the class on Monday nights and almost invariably are able to stay over for an hour of questions and answers on Tuesday mornings. Among the lecturers during the year, many of whom dealt with problems of political science and current national and international affairs, were Archibald MacLeish ("What Is A Great Issue?"), Congressman Christian A. Herter, Alexander Meiklejohn, Lewis Mumford ("The Nature of Fascism" and "The Ethical Foundations of World Order"), Joseph Barnes of the New York *Star* ("Soviet Concepts of Democracy"), Robert M. MacIver, Robert K. Carr ("Safeguarding American Civil Rights Today"), President James B. Conant, E. U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, Chester I. Barnard, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Secretary for External Affairs ("The United Nations"), Thomas K. Finletter ("World Government"), Dean Acheson ("American Factors in the Making of Our Foreign Policies"), President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe College ("The Meaning of Tolerance"), Nelson A. Rockefeller ("Planning in a Democracy"), Beardsley Ruml, Hugh H. Bennett, chief of the Soil Conservation Service, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Local lecturers, who have been drawn from the departments of government, economics, history, sociology, biography, chemistry, English, Russian civilization, philosophy, zoölogy, and the Tuck School of Business Administration, usually perform the function of presenting the historical backgrounds of the issues with which the forthcoming guest lecturers will deal.

The Great Issues course, now in its second year of operation, was proposed by President Dickey soon after his inauguration in late 1945, was approved by the faculty and trustees in 1946, and was in the state of being planned during the year 1946–47. In 1947, the Carnegie Corporation made a grant of $75,000 toward defraying the costs of the experiment over a period of three years. Cost accounting analysis of the first year of operation has demonstrated that the direct instructional expenses of the course were somewhat less per student than those for comparable instruction in the rest of the curriculum. The course is administered by a director (President Dickey, who takes a very active part in both the planning and the instruction), assisted by a Steering Committee made up of an associate director who spends full time on the course for a one-year term; an executive secretary; an assistant librarian, who also serves as director of the Public Affairs Laboratory; and a representative of each of the three divisions of the faculty (Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Humanities), usually serving three-year terms. In constituting the Steering Committee, a special effort was made to make it representative of the faculty as a whole, as well as to allow for rotation of membership.

Great Issues operated last year with a registration of just under 600 for the first semester and just over 500 for the second. The class is handled at all sessions as a unit, with no division into sections. This procedure has allowed the class to address its questions directly to the visiting lecturer on Tuesday mornings, which would be impossible if the class met in sections. The quality of the questions asked by the students improved greatly during the year, so that in some respects the Tuesday morning sessions became, very unexpectedly, the most valuable in the course. Moreover, this procedure has had the extremely desirable effect of stimulating the process of student self-education, for where so many students know one another to be well informed concerning the personalities and contentious points involved, many fruitful dining hall, fraternity, and dormitory discussions can easily and naturally ensue.

The Great Issues course can be described as an exercise not only in citizenship but also in general education. It is the only course at Dartmouth after the freshman year in which all of the members of a class are brought together in a common intellectual experience. The over-all effect has been to stimulate the process of integrating the student's knowledge. In addition, and as a consequence of attempting to identify the great issues of our time, the course suggests to the student the cogency, indeed the necessity, of understanding the fundamental bearing of a sense of values on the problems of living.

The examination policy of the course has tended to encourage such a consideration of the rôle of values. For besides the objective type of examination used in mid-semester and for half of the final, an hour essay question was pre-announced last spring: "What is the great issue as *you* see it? In your discussion, draw on your total experience in the course." In the overwhelming majority of instances, the answers suggested that the great issue lay in terms of moral and social relations and humanistic values.

The ultimate test of the course will consist in whether it really results in more effective citizenship. In order to study this, the course will remain in touch with its alumni and attempt to gather data bearing on that point. On the basis of experience to date, it is fair to say that the course, at the least, was effective enough to justify the effort involved. Already there is an abundance of evidence that the course strongly affected the thinking of a very great majority of the class, and this leads even the most cautious to believe that the idea may have something abiding to contribute to American higher education.

TEACHING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE MODEL SECURITY COUNCIL OR GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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The model session of an organ of the United Nations, whether it be the Security Council or the General Assembly, is probably the most dramatic method available today for teaching American students the practical problems of postwar international relations. Dormant during the war, model councils and assemblies have been reactivated and are now playing an important rôle in the international relations programs of many colleges and universities. Typical of the model international organizations are the Model General Assembly of the United Nations, sponsored by the American Association for the United Nations, and the Model Security Council of the United Nations, sponsored jointly by the colleges and universities of central New York State. Between forty and forty-five institutions in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey participate in the model assembly, while eleven send delegates to the model security council.

The reaction of students who have participated in sessions of such model international organizations has been enthusiastic. Not only do such sessions stimulate general interest in international relations, but in addition they build a knowledge of procedure and structure of international organizations, a familiarity with reports and documents of the United Nations, an understanding of international problems currently influencing relations of the Great Powers, and a recognition of the difficulties under which the United Nations must labor. The model security council or assembly is not just a rehearsal of past events in the Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations, although such events must provide the foundation for all action taken by the model group. Instead, the sessions of the model international organs are creative and develop initiative, for they start with what has been done to date and attempt to arrive at new decisions, all the while functioning within the general framework of the over-all foreign policies of the states involved.

Participation of various colleges and universities in the model councils or assemblies is usually under the sponsorship of student organizations interested in the study of international affairs. This means that preparation of delegation members is extracurricular or in addition to regular class work. In some instances, however, because of the teaching value placed upon the model council or assembly, participation is supplementary to course work in international politics or contemporary international problems. Under such circumstances, if the task of preparation for the session becomes too heavy, students may be allowed to substitute preparation for the model session for regular class assignments.

The key to a successful session of a model security council or assembly is preparation. This implies not only preparation of the delegations of the nations to be represented, but also careful preparation by the continuation committee and the host institution. In every phase of preparation, it would seem that the most successful results will be achieved, not only from a teaching and learning standpoint but also from that of conference efficiency, if as much responsibility as possible is borne by students.

The most important single person connected with any session of a model council or assembly is the student secretary-general, but giving important aid to the secretary-general in the earlier stages of planning the model session are the members of the continuation committee. This committee is usually composed of faculty representatives and students in equal numbers, with either six or eight members, selected by vote of faculty advisers and student delegates, respectively, at the preceding meeting of the model council or assembly. It is the responsibility of the chairman of the continuation committee to call members of the committee together, along with the student secretary-general named by the college or university upon whose campus the model council or assembly is to be held, to decide upon the date of the model sessions, to suggest revisions of pre-conference bulletins to be issued by the secretary-general, to agree on the general fields for discussion at the model sessions, to give guidance to the secretary-general on matters of budget, to approve the registration fee to be charged to participating delegations, and to divide among the faculty members of the committee the task of preparing the agenda for the model session.

The student secretary-general is then ready to go ahead with final preparations for the conference. As soon as possible, he issues the assignment of nations and the agenda to participating colleges and universities. By this time he has probably already completed arrangements for feeding and housing the delegations, arranged for rooms in which sessions may be held, started the quest for a speaker, arranged for the printing of the programs, and even secured an orchestra to play at the inevitable dance affording delegates their one evening of relaxation at the model session. In addition to all of his pre-session duties, the secretary-general must serve as a student host during the period of the model council or assembly sessions. He must be on hand for all activities, early and late, to answer questions, solve problems, and keep the sessions running satisfactorily. If the secretary-general and the members of the continuation committee have done their work well, the conference will run smoothly, provided delegations to the model sessions have been prepared adequately for discussion of items on the agenda.

The work of preparing the delegations of the participating colleges and universities really starts with the selection of the delegation members. Selection of members can well be made on the basis of desire to participate, interest in international relations, general intelligence, and ability in extemporaneous oral expression. Normally, delegations to both the model council and the model assembly consist of four members. Once members of the delegation have been selected, a chief delegate should be named to assume complete responsibility for leadership of the delegation not only at the model sessions, but also during the period of preparation. Although the faculty adviser may give coöperation and encouragement, the best way to get a well prepared and enthusiastic delegation is to place considerable responsibility for preparation on the students themselves.

If occasionally the assignment of nations and the agenda are slow in arriving, it is just as well, for in the interim it is possible to indicate to delegation members where they may find basic information on the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations. Thus there is an opportunity for building an adequate background before plunging into the study of a detailed topic, and for emphasizing the procedure of the organization to be modeled. A thorough knowledge of the procedure of the Security Council or of the General Assembly is essential if the delegation's work is to be effective.

When the assignment is made of the nation which the delegation is to represent, the study pattern can be shifted from the over-all background material and procedure of the Security Council or General Assembly to the foreign policy of the specific nation, particularly as it has been displayed since the founding of the United Nations or since the state gained membership in the United Nations. Some student delegations consult with actual representatives of the nation they are to represent, either in Washington or at the seat of the United Nations.

Once the agenda arrives, each member of the delegation is given his assignment, either on a special topic if preparation is for the model security council or on the agenda of a single committee if preparation is for the model assembly. It is advisable even after the assignment of delegation members to individual areas of study for the delegation to continue to hold group meetings to exchange ideas and to develop an integrated policy for the nation to be represented. While it is not necessary to give college or university students a specific bibliography to be used in preparation for the model council or assembly, it is important that they be acquainted with the publications most likely to furnish worthwhile information. In addition to the *Official Records* of the Security Council or of the General Assembly, sources of considerable value include *International Organization*, the *United Nations Bulletin*, and either the *New York Times* or the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Inasmuch as meetings of the model council or assembly consist in large measure of discussions which lead to the adoption of resolutions, it is necessary for a delegation desiring to be of any influence upon the action of the sessions to prepare resolutions for submission ahead of time. Even if another delegation places its proposals before the council or assembly first, it is still possible to introduce parts of prepared resolutions in the form of amendments. Also of importance in preparation for the model council or assembly is the organization of brief set speeches by delegation members surveying the position of their nation toward each topic scheduled to come under discussion. Such speeches should be short and dramatic, and may be used to lead up to the presentation of a resolution or in connection with discussion and attempted amendment of a resolution already before the council or the assembly committee.

An exchange of views by mail with delegations representing other nations in the weeks before the model council or assembly not only adds zest to the preparation, but serves the useful purpose of encouraging potential supporters and allowing Powers with similar interests to build an integrated approach to problems. This exchange of views may be supplemented by conversations at the model council or assembly meeting before formal sessions begin.

The real value of the model security council or general assembly lies in its practical approach to the study of international organization and in its development of an understanding of both the possibilities and limitations of the United Nations. One unexpected result of most model councils and assemblies is a growing respect for the point of view of other nations, even though compromise and agreement are not always possible.

It would seem that the model security council and the model general assembly offer one of the most encouraging educational developments in the field of international relations. It is to be hoped that the movement will become more widespread, reaching not only college and university students, but students in high school and preparatory school as well, and serving as an educational tool not only for students in the United States but for young men and women throughout the world.

NEWS AND NOTES

PERSONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Compiled by the Managing Editor

In November, Dr. Chester C. Maxey, dean of the division of social sciences and professor of political science at Whitman College since 1925, was elected president of the college.

At the University of Chicago, Professor Quincy Wright has been elected spokesman of the faculty, which is the top faculty post in the representative Council of the University.

Professor Francis W. Coker, of Yale University, is teaching during the winter quarter at Emory University, Georgia.

Professor William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed a member of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

Professor Lawrence Preuss, of the University of Michigan, will deliver a series of five lectures at the 1949 session of the Académie de Droit International at The Hague, on international law and matters of domestic jurisdiction, under the title "Le domaine resérvé."

Professor J. Lloyd Mecham, of the University of Texas, was on research leave during the first semester of the current year.

At Stanford University, Professor Arnaud B. Leavelle, Jr., has been appointed acting executive head of the department of political science for the academic year 1948–49.

Professor Graham H. Stuart, of Stanford University, served as director of the twenty-fifth Institute of World Affairs held at Riverside, California, December 5–8; Professor James T. Watkins, IV, acted as chairman of a round table on the occupation of Japan; and Mr. Lawrence D. Weiler assisted in the capacity of rapporteur.

Visiting professors at Stanford University during the current academic year include Dr. Elaine Windrich, on leave from Pennsylvania State College, and Dr. Edmund F. Spellacy, on leave from the University of Hawaii.

During the second semester of the current year, Dr. Edward Táborský, formerly secretary to President Beneš and Czechoslovak minister to Sweden, is a visiting lecturer at the University of Texas.

Professor Maurice G. Burnside, of Marshall College, was elected to Congress in November from the fourth West Virginia district on the Democratic ticket.

Professor Howard Penniman is on leave from Yale University during the current academic year, and is working in the Office of Intelligence Research in the Department of State.

At Yale University, Professor Lane W. Lancaster, of the University of Nebraska, is serving during the present year as Cowles Professor of American Government.

At Princeton University, Professor Kenneth W. Hechler has resigned to accept a post in government service.

At Queens College, Miss Josephine Pisani has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Professor Robert H. Connery, who served on the staff of the Hoover Commission during the summer and early fall, has returned to full-time duty at the University of Illinois.

Professor C. Herman Pritchett, of the University of Chicago, gave the Kappa Day address at James Millikin University on November 30.

On December 13, Dr. Charles G. Fenwick, director of the department of international law and organization, Pan-American Union, delivered an address at the Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C., on "Recent Developments in Pan-Americanism."

In the 1948 summer session of Marshall College, Professor Willard M. Hogan, of Berea College, offered courses on contemporary problems in international relations.

During the spring term, Mr. Clifford J. Durr, who recently left the federal service after fifteen years in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Communications Commission, and who is now practicing law in Washington, will offer an undergraduate course on "Legislatures" at Princeton University.

During the past summer, at the request of the Milton-Freewater Consolidation Club, Professor Chester C. Maxey and Mr. Jonathan R. Cunningham, of Whitman College, made a detailed survey of the factors bearing on the proposed governmental consolidation of the cities of Milton and Freewater, Oregon.

Professor Jonathan R. Cunningham, of Whitman College, is serving his second year as secretary of the city planning commission of the city of Walla Walla, Wash., and Mr. Edward G. Watron, instructor, has been appointed secretary of the Walla Walla county planning commission.

Professor Ivan M. Stone will be on leave from Beloit College for seven months, beginning February 1. He will spend three months at Lake Success and in Washington and the remaining four months abroad, principally in London, Paris, and Geneva.

During the week of November 15, Dean Paul H. Appleby, of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, delivered a series of six lectures at the University of Alabama on the general subject of "Policy and Administration." The lectures will be published by the University of Alabama Press.

Professor Carl J. Friedrich, of Harvard University, served from April to September, 1948, as Governmental Affairs Adviser to General Lucius Clay, U. S. Military Governor in Germany. Earlier in the year, he delivered the opening lecture in a Montgomery Lectureship series at the University of Nebraska, and in November he gave five lectures, as Rosenfeld lecturer, at Grinnell College, discussing "Basic Issues of American World Relations."

Professor Marshall M. Knappen, of the University of Michigan, is president of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, which this year will hold its annual meeting at Wayne University, March 31–April 2. The chairman of the section on history and political science will be Professor Jay J. Sherman, of Wayne.

At Columbia University, Dr. John D. Millett was advanced from associate professor to professor on July 1, 1948. In the absence of Professor Schuyler C. Wallace on sabbatical leave during the first semester of 1948–49, he has been acting executive officer of the department of public law and government.

Professor Leo Strauss, of the New School for Social Research, has accepted an appointment as professor of political philosophy at the University of Chicago. He will offer the principal work in the field of political theory.

New instructors at Stanford University during the current academic year include Messrs. J. Malcolm Smith and Paul Murray, giving courses in American government, and Mr. Harold Grambs, teaching in the field of public administration.

During recent months, addresses were delivered before classes of political science students at the University of Pennsylvania by Michael Straight, editor of the *New Republic;* Morris Sayre, president of the National Association of Manufacturers; Hugh Scott, chairman of the Republican National Committee; Y. C. Tu, president of St. John's University, Shanghai; and Frank O. Darvall, first secretary of the British Embassy.

A Conference on Labor Arbitration was held at the University of Pennsylvania on November 12, under the auspices of the Labor Relations Council of the Wharton School. The Conference was attended by over 300 persons from the ranks of industry, labor, government, and education.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a grant of $100,000, payable over a period of five years, to the University of North Carolina for the development of an interdisciplinary research program at the Institute for Social Research.

At Duke University, Professor Robert R. Wilson returned to his academic duties in February after a period of writing following completion of his service with the Department of State in the Philippines and Australia; Professor Herbert von Beckerath, after a summer and a semester visiting and lecturing at various European universities; and Professor William H. Simpson, after a period spent in studying workmen's compensation in South Carolina. Professor John H. Hallowell will be on leave during the spring semester.

A Seminar in Europe is announced by the San Francisco State College for the forthcoming summer. Under the direction of Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, professor of philosophy, and Dr. Louis Wasserman, professor of government, the group will study the functioning of European governments, progress of reconstruction, political party alignments, and the East-versus-West orientation of peoples. Countries visited will be Great Britain, France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Finland, and Sweden, and interviews have been arranged with leaders in government, labor, business, and other fields. Twenty-four persons will be selected to make the trip. Applications should be directed to Professor Fisk, San Francisco State College, 124 Buchanan Street, San Francisco.

A Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, with visits to the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, and Holland, was held in London at Westminster Hall, Houses of Parliament, in October and November, 1948. The Conference was the most important and representative in the thirty-seven years since the foundation of the Empire Parliamentary Association in 1911, being attended by 87 delegates from the thirty-six legislatures of the Commonwealth and Empire. Mr. H. Duncan Hall, sojourning in London in connection with his work on the British official war histories, attended the Conference as observer and took part in the official visit to Germany. A representative group of delegates from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference met with a delegation of eight senators and representatives, appointed by the Congress of the United States, at the third British Commonwealth and United States Parliamentary Conference held at Bermuda for a week beginning November 15.

An Upstate New York Conference on the Far East was held at Syracuse University on November 19 and 20, under the joint sponsorship of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and the American Institute of Pacific Relations. It was a renewal of the annual meetings held prior to the war and was attended by newspaper editors, business executives, and community leaders from central New York. Professor Philip H. Taylor, of the Maxwell School, was chairman, and the American I.P.R. was represented by William L. Holland, secretary-general, International Secretariat, Miss Miriam S. Farley, and Mr. Clayton Lane, the new executive secretary. Among academic representatives present were George B. Cressey, Douglas G. Haring, Ralph J. D. Braibanti, Raymond F. Piper, J. A. Romeg, and George C. Betts of Syracuse University; Knight Biggerstaff, Miss Gussie E. Gaskill, and Edwin P. Reubens of Cornell University; Shannon McCune and Charles S. Blackton of Colgate University; and Miss Mary G. Mason of Vassar College. Proposals were made to create a permanent organization and to plan student seminars and special meetings for business men, all with the objective of a better understanding of the Far East.

During December, a series of lecture and discussion meetings on the subject of "Political Factors Affecting the Problems of National Security" was held at the Air War College, senior educational institution of the Air University system, at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Among the participants were Mr. Max W. Bishop, Department of State; Dr. Hilton P. Goss, the Air University; Dr. E. M. Kirkpatrick, Department of State; Professor Rensis Likert, University of Michigan; Professor Paul M. A. Linebarger, School for Advanced International Studies; Professor William M. McGovern, Northwestern University; Dr. Goerge S. Pettee, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives; Professor James F. Pinkney, Davidson College; and Dr. Paul Taylor, Department of State. Similar series covering the fields of sociology, geography, economics, science and technology, transportation, and the armed forces have already been held or are scheduled for the coming months. Dr. Raymond Estep and Dr. Hilton P. Goss, of the Air University staff, are acting as academic advisers to the Air War College in connection with these studies. The complete program is under the direction of Colonel Cecil P. Lessig, Chief, Air Intelligence Division, Air War College.

On October 22, Princeton University was host to the teachers of government in New Jersey colleges at a one-day conference. A principal part of the program consisted of seminars on topics of current interest. Professors Harold Sprout and Edgar Furniss, assisted by Lt. Col. Andrew Goodpaster, a graduate student, led the discussion on the teaching of international relations. Professor John F. Sly and Dr. William Miller conducted the round-table on the new constitution of New Jersey. Professors D. A. McCabe and Richard Lester, of the economics department, had charge of the seminar on the Taft-Hartley Act. At the luncheon meeting, Professor Alpheus T. Mason talked on the subject, "Can Liberalism Conquer Fear?" Seventy-five people attended the conference, and sessions were held in the Social Science Lounge and seminar rooms of the new library.

President Edmund E. Day, of Cornell University, recently announced the University's decision to institute a profound, long-range inquiry into the basic elements of the American tradition. "Our purpose," Dr. Day declared, "will be to dramatize vital current issues and to develop greater awareness of our responsibility as Americans in the great decisions which we as a people will make. The problems have acquired a magnitude which demand that our traditional methods be strengthened and reformed, just as our basic beliefs must be reformulated, if they are to continue vigorous and worthy of our support." A faculty committee consisting of Professor Edward W. Fox, department of history (chairman), Professor Earl Brooks, secretary of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, and Professor Clinton L. Rossiter, department of government, has been appointed to conduct a series of public discussions on some of the important current issues of American society and to recommend to the University plans for the institution of an undergraduate course in American democracy. With the aid of a substantial grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the committee is preparing three lecture series for the spring term of 1949. The first of these, to be held in February and March, is of particular interest to political scientists. Seven distinguished experts in American politics and government will be on the campus for lectures and discussions on the general subject, "The Strengthening of American Political Institutions." The lecturers and their topics are: Arthur Flemming (Administrative Reorganization); Representative A. S. Mike Monroney (Congressional Reorganization); Senator Estes Kefauver (Presidential-Congressional Relations); Edgar Ansel Mowrer (The Formulation of Foreign Policy); Hanson Baldwin (Mobilization); Thurman Arnold (The Government's Loyalty Program); and Don K. Price (The Presidential Burden). Members of the Cornell faculty, students, and outside experts will participate in the discussions.

The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan will hold its special summer session in Survey Research Techniques from July 18 to August 13. The following courses will be offered: Introduction to Survey Research, Survey Research Methods, Sampling Methods in Survey Research (elementary and advanced), Mathematics of Sampling, Statistical Methods in Survey Research, Techniques of Scaling. In addition, the introductory courses will be given from June 20 to July 16, permitting students attending the full eight-week summer session of the University (June 20 to August 13) to register for the introductory courses during the second four weeks. All courses are offered for graduate credit, and students must be admitted by the Graduate School. Inquiries should be addressed to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The second annual meeting of the New York State Political Science Group was held at Syracuse, New York, on October 15 and 16, and was attended by about sixty persons. The program included three panel discussions: "Public Service Requirements and Collegiate Training," led by Henry J. McFarland, of the New York State Department of Civil Service; "The Presidential Election as a Study in American Politics," led by Professor William H. Edwards, Brockport Teachers' College; and "Political Science in the Social Science Program," led by Dr. Seward Salisbury, Oswego State Teachers' College. At dinner meetings, Dean M. P. Catherwood, School of Industrial Relations, Cornell University, addressed the group on "Political Science and Labor Relations," and Professor T. V. Smith, of Syracuse University, on "A Philosopher Views Elections." Resolutions envisaging a permanent organization were adopted. The executive committee for the year 1948–49 consists of the following: Professors Murdoch Dawley, Fredonia State Teachers College; George Bell, Champlain College; Kenneth Snyder, Alfred University; Kathryn Starbuck, Skidmore College; and Glenn G. Wiltsey, University of Rochester, president.

The Midwest Conference of Political Scientists will meet this year on the campus of the University of Wisconsin during the period April 22–24. Present plans call for holding all meetings in the Memorial Union Building. Members attending the Conference will be housed in University dormitories on Lake Mendota; and there will be accommodations for those who bring their wives. The chairman of the managerial committee is Professor Llewellyn Pfankuchen, of the University of Wisconsin, and the secretary is Professor Harry W. Voltmer, of De Pauw University. The chairman of the program committee is Professor Paul C. Bartholomew, of the University of Notre Dame. The program will include a general session Friday evening, round-tables Saturday morning, a luncheon meeting Saturday noon, and general meetings Saturday evening and Sunday morning. The section meetings will deal with the following subjects: purposes and content of courses in comparative government, Midwest constitutional developments, new trends in intergovernmental relations, Midwest isolationism, Midwestern assaults on the two-party system, urban-rural conflict in the Midwest, and public administration. All interested political scientists in the Midwest are invited to attend. Members on the secretary's mailing list will receive notices and blanks for reservations a few weeks before the Conference. Those who do not happen to be on the list may make reservations by writing to Professor David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

The second session of the Mount Holyoke College Institute on the United Nations will be held from June 26 through July 23, and will again provide men and women concerned with world affairs an opportunity for study and discussion in small groups with United Nations leaders, officials of the United States and foreign governments, and other specialists in international affairs. Lectures and discussions on the college campus and weekly trips to Lake Success to observe the United Nations at work are features of the program, which has been planned with the aid of a notable group of consultants and officials of the United Nations. Inaugurated last summer under the sponsorship of Mount Holyoke College, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and twenty-three other sponsors including five New England colleges (Amherst, Brown, Smith, Wellesley, and Williams), the Institute is open to men and women able to make a direct contribution to international understanding in their communities. A limit of 100 members has been set for each of the four weeks to permit a high degree of individual participation. Fees for the four-week session are $225, which includes $85 for tuition and $140 for board and room. For a single week, charges are $25 for tuition and $35 for board and room. A limited number of scholarships are available, with applications considered in the order in which they are received. Address all communications to Mary J. Levy, executive secretary, Mount Holyoke College Institute, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

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Charles Grove Haines, professor emeritus of political science on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California, died in his sixty-ninth year on December 27, 1948. He had spent the holiday period entertaining his daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Winans, and her husband at the Laguna Beach home to which he had retired the preceding summer, and when he passed away was at work on the final chapters of the second volume of his *Rôle of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics*. Dr. Haines was born at Lineboro, Maryland, September 20, 1879, and was educated at Ursinus College and Columbia University. His forty-two years of loyal and distinguished service to the teaching of history, political science, and law on the faculties of Ursinus, Whitman, Texas, Chicago, and California, and as a visiting professor at Harvard, brought him many honors and great personal satisfaction. He was a founder of the Southwestern Social Science Association and the first editor of its *Quarterly;* also a founder of the political science honor fraternity, Pi Sigma Alpha. Never a champion of the academic cloister, his election to the presidency of the American Political Science Association for 1939 found him serving as a commissioner of one of the nation's outstanding examples of public ownership, the Los Angeles department of water and power. His abiding confidence in majority rule, direct legislation, and public ownership led him to continue on the board of trustees of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, from 1938 until 1946, and to accept a reappointment last November. In 1906, Dr. Haines married Bertha Harner Moser, who for thirty-eight years was his constant companion and colleague. An author in her own right, she was of great assistance to him in his many scholarly undertakings, which covered a wide range from theory to public administration, but with a strong concentration in constitutional law. Her death a few years ago was a blow from which he never recovered, and he honored her memory by establishing a scholarship in her name at Ursinus College, where they had met as students. The scholarship will now be converted into a joint one honoring the memories of both. Dr. Haines will be remembered best for his challenging, down-to-earth studies of the rôle and the functioning of judicial review of legislative action. A firm believer in the thesis that theory is more important than precedent, he was a leader in the revolt against treating the Supreme Court as "a legal tribunal operating with only incidental relations to the main practices and tendencies of political life," and his books will long serve as valuable sources of data on "the extent to which the members of the Supreme Judiciary and the tribunal itself have participated in and have influenced the political and partisan activities of the time." These quotations are taken from the introduction to the first volume of what he had intended as his final definitive study, a three-volume work on *The Rôle of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics.* It is to be regretted that he was not spared to complete at least the second volume.—C. A. DYKSTRA, J. A. C. GRANT.

Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. The forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Political Science Association was held at the Palmer House in Chicago, Illinois, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 28–30, 1948. The program placed primary emphasis upon the field of international affairs. A deliberate attempt was made to reduce the number of meetings in progress at any one time, even at the expense of omitting some subjects that might well have received attention. The first morning was devoted to a general open session on the significance of the national elections. The afternoon sessions of the first day and the morning and afternoon sessions of the second day, as well as the morning sessions of the third day, were devoted to round table conferences in subject-matter areas. The program as presented at the meeting was as follows:

Tuesday, December 28, at 10:00 A.M.

OPEN GENERAL SESSION—THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1948

Chairman: Arthur N. Holcombe, Harvard University.

"The Outlook for a Realignment of Parties," Max Lerner, *New York Star.*

"The Problem of the Electoral College," Estes Kefauver, Member of Congress, Senator-elect, Vice President of the Association.

"Campaign Management Under the Hatch Act," Everett M. Dirksen, Member of Congress, Illinois.

Tuesday, December 28, at 12:30 P.M.

Luncheon

"Some Reflections on American Political Parties and the Recent Election," Senator-elect Paul H. Douglas, Illinois.

Tuesday, December 28, at 2:30 P.M.

THE PROBLEM OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA

Chairman: Robert K. Carr, Dartmouth College.

Secretary: Robert B. Dishman, Dartmouth College.

"Recent Civil Rights Decisions of the Supreme Court," David Fellman, University of Wisconsin.

"Some Political Aspects of the Present Civil Rights Controversy," Jasper B. Shannon, University of Kentucky.

"Freedom versus Security," Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University.

"United Nations Actions on Human Rights in 1948," James Simsarian, Department of State.

Discussion. Led by members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

NEW TRENDS IN THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Chairman: Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Topics discussed:

(1) United States Leadership in World Affairs.
(2) Reorganization of the State Department.
(3) Improvement of Inter-Agency Relationships.
(4) Future of the Foreign Service.
(5) Security Aspects of Foreign Policy.
(6) Participation of the United States in the United Nations.
(7) Rôle of Congress in Foreign Relations.
(8) Improvement of Legislative-Executive Relationships.
(9) Future of the Bipartisan Foreign Policy.

Participants: Royden Dangerfield, Economic Coöperation Administration and University of Wisconsin; Harlow J. Heneman, Consultant, Department of State; William P. Maddox, Department of State; C. Easton Rothwell, Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University; Brooks Emeny, Foreign Policy Association; Senator-elect Estes M. Kefauver; Quincy Wright, University of Chicago; Donald C. Stone, Economic Coöperation Administration.

CONFERENCE ON THE FAR EAST

Chairman: Kenneth Colegrove, Northwestern University.

Secretary: Carol McGovern, Bryn Mawr College.

Topics discussed:

(1) Democratization of Japan.
(2) The Peace Treaty with Japan.
(3) Economic Rehabilitation of Japan, China, and Korea.
(4) Grand Strategy in the Pacific.
(5) Independence of Korea.
(6) Political Stabilization of China.
(7) Communist Conquests in Asia.

Participants: Joseph Ballantine, Brookings Institution; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Claude A. Buss, Stanford University; Esson M. Gale, University of Michigan; Lt.-Gen. John R. Hodge, formerly Commanding General of USAFIK; Stanley K. Hornbeck, formerly United States Ambassador to the Netherlands; Edwin Martin, Department of State; William M. McGovern, Northwestern University; Cyrus H. Peake, Department of State; Earl H. Pritchard, University of Chicago; Harold S. Quigley, University of Minnesota.

HUMAN NATURE AND DEMOCRACY

Chairman: Benjamin E. Lippincott, University of Minnesota.
Secretary: Alfred De Grazia, University of Minnesota.
"Democratic Psychology: The Problem of Reinterpretation," Thomas I. Cook, University of Chicago.
"Democracy and Destructiveness," Nathan Leites, Yale University.
"Freedom as an Assumed Characteristic of Man in a Democratic Society," John W. Miller, Williams College.
"Economic and Social Policy of Democratic Man," Frank H. Knight, University of Chicago.
"The End of a Myth About Education and Democracy," George S. Counts, Columbia University.
Discussion Leader: R. M. MacIver, Columbia University.

PROBLEM OF EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION

Chairman: Charles Aikin, University of California, Berkeley.
Secretary: Louis W. Koenig, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York.
"Structure and Procedure of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government," C. Ferrel Heady, University of Michigan.
"Problems of the Presidency," Don K. Price, Public Administration Clearing House, Washington.
"Problems of Departmental Management," John D. Millett, Columbia University.
"The Future of Regulatory Commissions," C. Herman Pritchett, University of Chicago.
"Organization of Personnel and Central Governmental Services," Lewis B. Sims, United States Public Health Service.
"National Security Organization," Robert H. Connery, University of Illinois.

Tuesday, December 28, at 5:00 P.M.

Public Administration Clearing House and University of Chicago Open House and Tea, 1313 East 60th Street

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Tuesday, December 28, at 8:00 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AND PRESENTATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AWARDS

Address: "Pathological Problems in Politics," Henry R. Spencer, President, American Political Science Association.

Presentation of Awards for Best Publications of the Year

Chairman: Committee on Awards; Francis W. Coker, Yale University.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation award for the best publication in the field of "government and democracy": citation by Carl B. Swisher, Johns Hopkins University; award to Leonard D. White, University of Chicago, for *The Federalists.*

Willkie Memorial Building award for the best publication in the field of "international relations": citation by Payson S. Wild, Jr., Harvard University; award to John K. Fairbank, Harvard University, for *The United States and China.*

Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation award for the best publication in the field of "government and human welfare": citation by H. C. Nixon, Vanderbilt University; award to Robert W. Johnson for *Or Forfeit Freedom.*

Wednesday, December 29, at 10:00 A.M.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

Chairman: J. Lloyd Mecham, University of Texas.

"Latin America and the International Economic Policy of the United States," J. Fred Rippy, University of Chicago (read by Lewis Kahle).

"The Pan American Union and the Council of the Organization," William Manger, Pan American Union (read by Mr. Kelbaugh).

"The Economic Work of the Inter-American Agencies," Simon G. Hanson, Editor, *Inter-American Economic Affairs.*

"The Inter-American Security System," Willard F. Barber, Department of State.

"Cultural Understanding," A. N. Christensen, University of Minnesota.

"The Latin-American Viewpoint," Federico G. Gil, University of North Carolina.

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Chairman: Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University.

Secretary: Kimbrough Owen, Louisiana State Law Institute.

"New Patterns in Constitution-Making," Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan.

"Procedural Changes in State Constitutions," W. Brooke Graves, Library of Congress.

"Substantive Changes in State Constitutions," Lloyd M. Short, University of Minnesota.

"Making a New Constitution Effective," John E. Bebout, National Municipal League.

Discussion Leaders: Harold R. Bruce, Dartmouth College; John J. George, Rutgers University; Wilbert L. Hindman, University of Southern California.

THE BEGINNING COURSE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Chairman: John F. Sly, Princeton University.

Secretaries: Paul M. Douglas, Institute of Public Administration, and Guthrie Birkhead, Princeton University.

"Secondary School Preparation in the Field of Political Science," Harold C. Hunt, General Superintendent of Schools, City of Chicago.

"The Purpose and Content of the Beginning Course," Harold M. Dorr, University of Michigan.

"Methods and Materials in the Beginning Course," Clinton L. Rossiter, Cornell University.

"The Textbook Publisher and the Beginning Course," Harvey R. Goslee, The Ronald Press Company, New York.

"The Use of Audio-Visual Aids in the Beginning Course," David Ridgway, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Illinois.

Commentator: George E. McReynolds, University of Connecticut.

GOVERNMENTS OF SATELLITE STATES

Chairman: Andrew Gyorgy, Yale University.

Secretary: Currin V. Shields, Yale University.

"Constitutional Development of Satellite States," C. E. Black, Princeton University.

"The Soviet Conception of Satellite States," Sergius Yakobson, Library of Congress.

"The New Democracy in Practice: Recent Trends in Domestic Politics," Samuel L. Sharp, Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

"American Foreign Policy Towards Satellite States," Robert G. Neumann, University of California at Los Angeles.

Discussion Leaders: Eric C. Bellquist, University of California, Berkeley; George Lenczowski, Hamilton College.

ANNIVERSARIES: 1848 AND 1948

Chairmen: John D. Lewis, Oberlin College, and John C. Ranney, Smith College.

Secretary: Jack Peltason, Smith College.

"The Meaning of Communism: 1848 and 1948," Edward Heimann, New School for Social Research.

"The Promise of Representative Democracy: 1848 and 1948," Leslie Lipson, Swarthmore College.

"The Structure and Strategy of Revolution: Model 1848 and 1948," Sigmund Neumann, Wesleyan University.

Discussion Leaders: David Easton, University of Chicago; C. A. Micaud, University of Virginia.

PUBLIC LAW: JUDICIAL BIOGRAPHY

Chairman: Charles Fairman, Stanford University.

"Types of Judicial Biography," Arnaud B. Leavelle, Stanford University.

"Integration with History," Carl B. Swisher, Johns Hopkins University.

"A Lawyer's View," Willard B. King, Chicago Bar.

"Do You Have To Be a Lawyer?," John P. Frank, Indiana University.

"Justices as Students of American Society," Lynford A. Lardner, Northwestern University.

"Canons of Excellence," Willard Hurst, University of Wisconsin.

MEASUREMENT AND STATISTICAL STUDIES OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Chairman: Stuart A. Rice, Assistant Director in charge of Statistical Standards, United States Bureau of the Budget.

Secretary: Donald S. Hecock, Wayne University.

"Public Opinion Surveys," Harold F. Gosnell, State Department.

"Federal Judicial Statistics," Orin S. Thiel, Administrative Officer, U. S. Courts.

"Measurement and Statistics in Public Administration," Herbert A. Simon, Illinois Institute of Technology.

"Administrative and Political Scales Built By Psychophysical Methods," Herman C. Beyle, Syracuse University.

Discussion Leaders: Clarence E. Ridley, International City Managers' Association; Cortez A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma; Norman N. Gill, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee.

THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

(Panel under Joint Sponsorship of NCSS and APSA)

Chairman: Ben A. Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University.

Secretary: Francis R. Aumann, Ohio State University.

"Stimulating the Political Scientist to Greater Political Participation," Hugh Bone, University of Washington.

"Developments in the New York Area," William J. Ronan, New York University.

"Experiments in California with Political Participation," John A. Vieg, Pomona College.

"The Selection of Students for Political Participation," Howard White, Miami University.

"Practical Teacher Training in Political Science in Chicago," Henrietta H. Fernitz, Chicago Teachers College.

Wednesday, December 29, at 12:30 P.M.

Luncheon

UNESCO, Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress.

Wednesday, December 29, at 2:30 P.M.

THE POLARIZATION OF WORLD POWER

Chairman: Grayson L. Kirk, Columbia University.

Secretary: George Lipsky, University of California, Berkeley.

"Polarity in World Politics," Frederick S. Dunn, Yale University.

"Modern Technology and the Polarization of Power," Colonel Andrew Goodpaster, U. S. Army.

"Economic Trends and the Polarization of Power," J. B. Condliffe, University of California, Berkeley.

EMPIRE AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Chairman: Rupert Emerson, Harvard University.

Secretary: Benjamin Rivlin, Harvard University.

"Decolonization in Indonesia," Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky.

"British Policy in Southeast Asia," Lennox A. Mills, University of Minnesota.

"France and Viet-Nam," Charles A. Micaud, University of Virginia.

Commentators: Eugene Chase, Lafayette College; Dale Pontius, Roosevelt College.

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT

Chairman: R. K. Gooch, University of Virginia.

Secretary: Charles Micaud, University of Virginia.

"Recent Developments in Government and Politics in Europe:
Great Britain," Gordon Huson, British Embassy, Washington.
France," Gordon Wright, University of Oregon.
Italy," Howard M. Smyth, U. S. Army.
Germany," Roger H. Wells, Bryn Mawr College.

Discussion Leader: Arnold J. Zurcher, New York University.

THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN COMMITMENTS ON ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Rowland Egger, University of Virginia.

Secretary: William C. Rogers, Western Reserve University.

"Congressional Organization for the Supervision of Foreign Commitments and Operations," W. Y. Elliott, Staff Director, Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives.

"The Impact of Foreign Commitments on the Presidency," A. N. Holcombe, Harvard University.

"The Impact of Foreign Commitments on the Coördinative Responsibilities of the Department of State," George C. McGhee, Coördinator of Aid to Greece and Turkey, Department of State.

"The Impact of Foreign Commitments on the Organization of National Defense," Major General O. L. Nelson, Vice President, New York Life Insurance Company.

"The Economic Coöperation Administration: Its Rôle in National Administration," Donald C. Stone, Director of Administration of ECA, read speech prepared by Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator, Economic Coöperation Administration.

"National Administration and the United Nations System," Walter R. Sharp, City College of New York.

AS OTHERS SEE US

Chairman: William Anderson, University of Minnesota.

"A Sociologist Views American Political Science," George A. Lundberg, University of Washington.

"An Economist's Suggestions for Studies in Politics," Louis H. Bean, Department of Agriculture.

"The Issue of Ethical Neutrality in Political Science," Felix Kaufmann, New School for Social Research.

Wednesday, December 29, at 4:30 P.M.

Annual Business Meeting

Wednesday, December 29, at 8:00 P.M.

"The World of Today and Tomorrow," Sir Carl Berendsen, Ambassador to the United States from New Zealand.

Wednesday, December 29, at 9:30 P.M.

Smoker, sponsored by Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Roosevelt College, Loyola University, and the Illinois Institute of Technology.

"A Demonstration of Audio-Visual Aids for the Beginning Course," Joseph E. Mc-

Lean, Princeton University, Moderator; David Ridgway, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Illinois, Demonstrator.

Thursday, December 30, at 10:00 A.M.

HOME RULE TODAY: AN APPRAISAL

Chairman: Thomas H. Reed, Municipal Consultant, Wethersfield, Connecticut.
"Home Rule As We Find It In:
Michigan," Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan.
Ohio," Harvey Walker, Ohio State University.
Virginia," Rowland Egger, University of Virginia.
California," Winston W. Crouch, University of California, Los Angeles.
Maryland," Elwyn A. Mauck, University of Maryland.
New England," Laurence L. Barber, Jr., Trinity College.
"Home Rule Study of the American Municipal Association," Rodney L. Mott, Colgate University.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Chairman: Peter H. Odegard, University of California, Berkeley.
Secretary: Benjamin M. Ziegler, Amherst College.
"Voting Trends and Predictions," Louis Bean, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
"Problems of Election Polling," Robert Lidgate, Editor of the Gallup Poll.
"The Social and Political Implications of the Election," Wilfred E. Binkley, Ohio Northern University.
"Political Parties and Legislation," Dayton D. McKean, Dartmouth College.
"Party Politics and Responsible Government," Elmer Schattschneider, Wesleyan University.
"Party Organization and Reorganization," Clarence Berdahl, University of Illinois.
"The Party System and Political Behavior," William Miller, Ex-Director of the Progressive Party, Illinois.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Chairman: Roscoe C. Martin, University of Alabama, Vice President of the Association.
Secretary: Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee.
"Federal-State Relations in the Field of Social Security," George E. Bigge, Federal Security Agency.
"Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations," Luther Gulick, Institute of Public Administration.
"Some Aspects of Interstate Relations," Elliott Guild, University of Southern California.
"Trends in Federal-State-Local Relations," William Anderson, University of Minnesota.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Chairman: Pendleton Herring, Social Science Research Council.
Secretary: Stephen K. Bailey, Wesleyan University.
Participants: Merle Fainsod, Harvard University; Oliver Garceau, Research Staff, Public Library Inquiry; Alexander Heard, University of Alabama; V. O. Key,

Johns Hopkins University; Don K. Price, Public Administration Clearing House; Harold Stein, Staff Director, Committee on Public Administration Cases; Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Chairman: Rollin B. Posey, Northwestern University.
Secretary: Charles B. Hagan, University of Illinois.
"Labor Unions and Political Theory," Phillips Bradley, University of Illinois.
"Legal Aspects," H. Eliot Kaplan, National Civil Service Association.
"Unions in the Federal Service," Sterling Spero, New York University.
'Objectives of Governmental Unions," Arnold Zander, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT: "A NEW ERA IN ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT?"

Chairman: Marshall E. Dimock.
Secretary: Daniel Grant, Vanderbilt University.
"Giantism and the Basing Point System—the Supreme Court Takes A New Tack," Earl Latham, Amherst College.
"The Relation Between Size and Efficiency—the Engineering View," David Cushman Coyle, The Shinner Foundation.
"Size and Efficiency—Administrative View," Howard K. Hyde, Columbia University, paper read by Daniel Grant.
Discussion Leader: Lynford Lardner, Northwestern University.

ADULT EDUCATION: THE RÔLE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST

Chairman: Harold M. Dorr, University of Michigan.
Secretary: Charles D. Goff, University of Wisconsin.
"The Responsibility of the Political Scientist," Cyril O. Houle, University of Chicago.
"Adult Education and Civic Interest Among Wage Earners," Dean E. McHenry, University of California at Los Angeles.
"Implications for Professional Advancement," Marshall Knappen, University of Michigan.
"Progress in Adult Education," Claude E. Hawley, Chief for Social Sciences, U. S. Office of Education.

REORGANIZATION OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES

Chairman: Belle Zeller, Brooklyn College.
Secretary: Jack A. Rhodes, Oklahoma Legislative Council.
"The Changing Pattern of State Legislators," Charles W. Shull, Wayne University.
"The Rôle of the Executive in State Legislation: Positive Leadership," O. Douglas Weeks, University of Texas.
"The Rôle of the Executive in State Legislation: Negative Influences," Frank W. Prescott, University of Chattanooga.
"The Newly Organized *Legislative Service Conference*," Herbert L. Wiltsee, Council of State Governments.
"Current Proposals for Legislative Improvements," Bernice Van der Vries, member of Illinois General Assembly.
Discussion Participants: Walter F. Dodd, Chicago; W. Brooke Graves, Library of Congress; Joseph P. Harris, University of California; Jack F. Isakoff, Illinois Legislative Council; Robert E. Merriam, member, Chicago City Council.

Thursday, December 30, at 12:30 P.M.

Closing Luncheon

'Palestine and the UN," Ralph Bunche, United Nations mediator for Palestine.

The Executive Council of the Association met at the Palmer House at 9:00 A.M. on Monday, December 27. Those present were: President Henry R. Spencer, Vice-President Roscoe C. Martin, Managing Editor Frederic A. Ogg, Secretary-Treasurer Harvey Walker, and the following members of the Executive Council: Robert H. Connery, C. Perry Patterson, Harold S. Quigley, Taylor Cole, George Graham, Llewellyn Pfankuchen, John A. Vieg, Belle Zeller, H. F. Alderfer, Merle Fainsod, Joseph M. Ray, and J. B. Shannon. In addition, the meeting was attended by former presidents Francis W. Coker, William Anderson, Robert E. Cushman, Leonard D. White, and Walter F. Dodd, as well as by a number of the chairmen of Association committees.

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council held at Washington, D.C., on December 27, 1947, were approved as printed in the REVIEW for February, 1948, at pages 99–112.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented a report covering the year 1947–48 which showed that the year had been the most successful financially in the recent history of the Association. There was a surplus of income over expenses of $5,646.08. During the same period, 1,129 new members and subscribers were added, but there were 788 cancellations, leaving a net gain in membership of 341. It was announced that a study would be made of these cancellations and that a report of the results would be transmitted to the Executive Council. An increase of $1,000.00 in invested trust funds was reported. On recommendation of the Secretary-Treasurer, the Council voted to impose a registration fee of $1.00 beginning with the 1949 meeting in New York City. It was voted by the Council that the meeting of 1950 should be held in Washington, D.C., and the Secretary-Treasurer was directed to make the necessary hotel arrangements. As to the Personnel Service, the Secretary-Treasurer reported that fewer vacancies had been brought to the attention of his office and fewer members had been registered than in the years immediately preceding. The annual mimeographed service, however, contained data on 171 persons. This was mailed to appointing officers in February. A total of 221 persons had been registered at one time or another during the year and 55 vacancies were reported. A desk to render personnel service to members who were looking for new staff and those who were looking for new positions was maintained throughout the 1948 meeting.

The report of the Audit Committee was presented by Harvey C. Mansfield. The committee recommended the transfer of $5,000.00 of current surplus from the general fund to the trust fund. The committee also recommended the budgeting of a surplus for the year 1949 with a view to a similar transfer at the end of that year in order to build up the trust fund. The Council approved the Audit Committee report in so far as the transfer of last year's surplus was concerned, but decided to wait until the end of the year to determine what further transfers could be made. On recommendation of the Secretary-Treasurer, the Council authorized the investment of surplus cash in savings accounts in either the Park Federal Building and Loan Association or the First Federal Building and Loan Association of Columbus, Ohio, in an amount not exceeding $5,000.00 in either institution. It was likewise decided that no further transfers be made from trust funds to general funds for the support of the Personnel Service.

President Henry R. Spencer reported to the Council on the application to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant to facilitate meetings of important Association committees. He read the reply from the president of the Corporation and reported the receipt of $5,500.00 for such purposes. On motion of George Graham, seconded by Belle Zeller, the tentative allocation of Carnegie funds for the use of these committees was approved as follows: Committee on Political Parties, $2,000.00; *ad hoc* Committee on the REVIEW, $1,000.00; Committee on the Advancement of Teaching, $1,000.00; Committee on American Legislatures, $500.00; Reserve, $500.00. It was pointed out that the original $500.00 grant had been spent by the Committee on Constitutional Structure.

President Spencer reported that the Committee on Endowment had been permitted to become inactive, but that he felt that it might be desirable for the new president to revive the committee. After discussion, the Council approved this recommendation, thus leaving the matter to the incoming president.

Managing Editor Frederic A. Ogg presented a report on the AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW. During the year, 1,219 pages exclusive of front and back matter had been published—an average of approximately 203 pages per issue. In the 1948 volume, 347 pages were devoted to leading articles and symposia, 312 pages to book reviews and notices, and the remainder to departmental and other regular features. Of the ten leading articles, two each were in general political science, political theory, American government, and foreign governments and one each in the field of constitutional law and research. The three symposia were in the fields of American government, constitutional law, and foreign government. The Managing Editor nominated the following persons as members of the Board of Editors for 1949–50: Franklin L. Burdette, University of Maryland; David Fellman, University of Wisconsin; Fritz Morstein Marx, United States Bureau of the Budget; Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and John D. Millett, Columbia

University. These nominees were unanimously elected by the Council.

V. O. Key presented an interim report from the *ad hoc* Committee on the Future of the REVIEW. In this report, the committee expressed the deep debt of the Association to Managing Editor Ogg for his long and distinguished service to the Association as editor of the REVIEW. Since he assumed office, near the end of 1925, the REVIEW has grown from a quarterly with a circulation of around 1,500 into a bi-monthly whose direction entails extremely heavy responsibilities. The circulation has trebled and editorial problems have become more diverse. Since Professor Ogg's term does not expire until the 1949 annual meeting, by which time he has asked that some arrangements be made for his relief from editorial duties, the committee felt that it should take additional time before recommending any candidates. However, it plans to make recommendations to the Council of specific candidates by mid-summer of 1949. The committee envisioned a transition period which probably would require that Professor Ogg be asked to continue for a time beyond the expiration of his present term. There was some discussion of possible financial obligations which might be involved in a change of editorial leadership and the Council spent considerable time discussing editorial policy. The interim report of the committee was accepted and filed and the committee continued for the completion of its task.

Kenneth Colegrove, chairman of the Committee on the DIRECTORY, and Franklin L. Burdette, editor of the DIRECTORY, reported on the 1949 edition which they had hoped would be available for distribution at the annual meeting, but which, it appeared, would be available in late January or early February. Biographies of 2,776 members appear in this second edition, an increase of nearly a thousand over the first edition. The editorial costs of preparing the DIRECTORY have been borne by the National Foundation for Education, of which Mr. Samuel R. Harrell of Indianapolis is chairman. These costs approximate $5,000.00. The committee recommended (1) that the Office of the Secretary-Treasurer be authorized to promote sales of the DIRECTORY through reasonable mail and other advertising; (2) that the committee be continued for the year 1949 in order to complete the distribution of the second edition of the DIRECTORY; and (3) that the Association express its appreciation to the National Foundation for Education and to Mr. Samuel R. Harrell for financial support of the editorial side of the DIRECTORY project. On motion of Joseph M. Ray, these recommendations, with a fourth one calling for the printing of 400 additional cloth-bound copies for inventory, were approved unanimously by the Council.

Frederic A. Ogg reported orally to the Council on the present organization and activities of the American Council of Learned Societies. President Henry R. Spencer presented an oral report on our relations with the Social Science Research Council, the Intersociety Committee on a National Science Foundation, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. No action was requested and none was taken by the Council on these reports.

Charles Aikin presented a final report from the *ad hoc* Committee on Constitutional Structure of the Association. This report was divided into two parts. Part one proposed a number of amendments to the constitution of the Association as follows:

A. Change "Executive Council" to "Council" in the twenty instances in which the title is used in the constitution.

B. Article IV: *Officers*

1. The officers of this Association shall consist of a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, a Managing Editor of the AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, an Executive Committee, and a Council consisting ex-officio of the officers named in this section and sixteen elected members. Ex-Presidents of the Association may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions.

C. Article V: *Election of Officers*

Sec. 1. The President-Elect and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Association. The President-Elect shall succeed to the office of President on the completion of the term of the President. The sixteen elected members of the Council shall serve for two years and shall be divided into two groups of eight each, the terms of members of one such group expiring each year. Terms of office shall continue until the end of the program of the annual meeting. In order to put this section into operation, the Association at the 1948 annual meeting shall elect a President in addition to a President-Elect, and shall elect three (3) members to the Council for two (2) year terms and three (3) members of the Council for one (1) year terms.

D. Article VI: *Appointment of Officers*

Sec. 1. Eliminate words "Assistant Secretary-Treasurer."

A new Sec. 3: The Executive Committee shall be composed of the President, the President-Elect, the Chairman of the Program Committee, the head of the Washington office of the Association, and two members appointed by the President. Until the establishment of the Washington office, the Secretary-Treasurer shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.

E. Article VII: *Duties of Officers*

Add to Sec. 1:

Vacancies in the office of President shall be filled by the Council from among the Vice-Presidents. Vacancies in the office of President-Elect shall be filled by election of the Council. The Executive Committee shall advise the President on questions of major policy.

Add to 1st Paragraph of Sec. 5:

Committees shall remain in existence during the year of appointment except in special cases where committees are created for a further but limited period.

F. Article IX: *Resolutions*

Add to this article:

Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance of the annual meeting.

Part two of the report recommended the creation by the Association of a secretariat with headquarters in Washington, D.C., to handle most of the work now handled by the office of Secretary-Treasurer and much of that now handled by the Managing Editor of the REVIEW. On motion of George Graham, seconded by Harold Quigley, the proposed amendments to the constitution were approved and recommended to the business meeting for adoption. Upon motion of John Vieg, seconded by George Graham, part two of the report was also approved for transmittal to the business meeting for comment and action. In looking toward the appointment by the incoming president of a committee which could seek the necessary additional funds which would be required to finance a Washington office, this amount was estimated by the committee at $137,500 over a period of five years. If the dues were increased to $10.00 per year and there were no loss in membership, at least $50,000 would have to be secured from outside sources over the same five-year period.

President Spencer reported upon the difficulty which he had experienced in attempting to constitute a Committee on Judicial Organization and Administration during the current year. Ex-President Dodd, under whose administration the committee was first established, spoke of the importance of continuing the work which had been started at that time. On motion of Belle Zeller, seconded by C. Perry Patterson, the Council approved the reactivation of this committee by the incoming president.

As chairman of the Committee on Advancement of Political Science Teaching, Marshall E. Dimock presented the report of that group, which indicated the committee's plan to publish by 1950 a report making a general evaluation of the objectives and methods of political science. This report will be divided into six parts, each of which is being dealt with by a member of the committee as follows:

The Departmental Major, James W. Fesler, University of North Carolina
The Introductory Course, Harold M. Dorr, University of Michigan
The Social Science Integration, E. Allen Helms, Ohio State University
Improved Methods of Teaching, Ruth Weintraub, Hunter College
Graduate and Professional Training, V. O. Key, Johns Hopkins University
Relations with Secondary Schools, Howard White, Miami University.

Claude Hawley, who is in charge of the work in the social sciences for the United States Office of Education, is serving as the group's executive secretary. The Office of Education thus is providing a secretariat, opportunities for the group to meet, and assistance in conducting field work. Travel for the task force engaged in preparing the report has been paid from the Carnegie grant during 1948. The committee recommended that it be continued and that $500.00 be made available for similar travel during 1949. On motion of John Vieg, seconded by J. B. Shannon, the report of the committee was approved and the Secretary-Treasurer directed to include the necessary provision for travel in the budget.

John E. Briggs presented the report of the Committee on Regional and Functional Societies. This report brought to the attention of the Council the creation of three new regional associations, the Northern California Political Science Association organized on March 13, 1948, the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association organized on April 17–18, 1948, and the New England Political Science Association organized November 5, 1948. On recommendation of the committee, these three organizations were recognized as sections of the American Political Science Association. The chairman reported continuation of the policy of supplying representatives of the Association as speakers at meetings of the regional groups, $50.00 being advanced from Association funds toward the cost of travel. Under this arrangement in 1948, the Association was represented at the meeting of the Midwest Conference by President Henry R. Spencer, at the meeting of the Southern Political Science Association by William Anderson, and at the meeting of the Western Political Science Association by Secretary-Treasurer Harvey Walker. Letters of appreciation from the officers of these groups were read to the Council. It was determined that provisions be made in the 1949 budget for Association representation at five such regional conferences.

Taylor Cole presented orally a report from the Committee on Research indicating that its principal effort during the year had been devoted to the facilitation of the publication by the University of North Carolina Press of the report of the panels which had worked during 1947 and earlier years in considering the research needs of political science. This book has now appeared. On motion of Taylor Cole, seconded by J. B. Shannon, the research committee was continued, with the understanding that it consist largely of new personnel. The Secretary-Treasurer reported to the Council on correspondence which he had had with Ernest S. Griffith and the University of North Carolina Press indicating that when the costs of publication and preparation of the manuscript were recovered, royalty income on additional sales would accrue to the benefit of the endowment funds of the Association. On motion of Frederic A. Ogg, seconded by Roscoe C. Martin, it was voted to extend the appreciation of the Association to Ernest Griffith for his services in the preparation and publication of this material and his generosity in designating the Association as the eventual beneficiary of royalty income.

Elmer E. Schattschneider presented a report from the Committee on Political Parties. This report indicated that the committee had met formally and informally seven times during 1948 and as a result had made substantial progress in the clarification and perfection of its proposals. A number of memoranda have been examined and revised. A more extended session of the whole committee was to be held in Chicago on December 30 and 31. In order to facilitate a wider discussion of the recommendations of the committee, it was proposed that panels of members of the committee arrange a number of small conferences in various parts of the country at which political scientists interested in the subject would be invited to meet with a number of party leaders for exchange of opinions concerning the development of a more effective party system. It was voted by the Council to continue the committee and that the panel meetings proposed be financed from the Carnegie grant.

Belle Zeller presented a report from the Committee on American Legislatures. This report indicated that the committee had undertaken the preparation of a critical statement on the reorganization of state legislatures, patterned somewhat on the report on Congress published by an Association committee in 1945. The chairman moved that the committee be continued for an additional year and the report, including this recommendation, was approved by the Council. Miss Zeller presented on behalf of her committee the following resolution:

> Whereas, there is an urgent and continuing need for up-to-date information on a wide variety of current problems in the field of state government and state law, information that is essential to the proper functioning of all three levels of government in this country, and
>
> Whereas, under our federal system of government, many matters of this sort can be best handled on a coöperative basis, the state and local units furnishing basic data to a federal agency equipped to analyze and process the material, and
>
> Whereas, the work of this character carried on by the State Law Section of the Library of Congress as a part of its service to the Members of the Congress has been made available to the states and has (until a curtailment of funds necessitated its virtual suspension) been extremely useful to them,
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved
>
> That the American Political Science Association at its 44th Annual Meeting respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to provide financial support for the State Law Section of the Library of Congress adequate to permit the restoration of the bill and act project operated in 1946–47 and the expansion of its program to include other similarly useful services for the Congress and the executive departments of the federal government, to the state and local units, and to students of government in the colleges and universities of this country.

The resolution was seconded by Joseph M. Ray and unanimously approved for submission to the Business Meeting of the Association.

The report of the Committee on International Cultural Relations was presented by its chairman, Pitman B. Potter. In this report, the committee recommended that the American Political Science Association should not seek individual representation on the American Committee for UNESCO, but should be content with representation through the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. With respect to personnel exchanges under the Fulbright Act, it was reported by the committee that it appeared to be the policy of the Department of State to deal with educational institutions and with individuals rather than with professional associations. However, the committee indicated its intention to continue its efforts to obtain further information concerning fellowships for international exchange which are available to political science students all over the world. The chairman also reported that he had represented the Association at meetings held under the auspices of the Department of State on March 4 on problems of human rights and freedom of information. The committee is in the process of examining a draft bibliography prepared by the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques* in Paris on the history and civilization of the United States with a view to suggesting any changes which might improve it. Some progress was reported by the committee on the matter referred to it in 1947 relating to the admission into Japan of individual scholars desiring to undertake studies in the field of political science. However, the matter is not yet concluded and the committee indicated its intention to continue its inquiries. On October 27, the chairman of the committee represented the Association at a meeting at the Department of State at which the draft agenda of the Inter-American Economic Conference to be held in Buenos Aires in March, 1949, were discussed. Walter R. Sharp, a member of the committee, attended a conference on methods in political science held by UNESCO in Paris in September. He reported the interest of UNESCO in the possible establishment of an International Political Science Association and presented a resolution on this subject which was approved and referred to the Business Meeting. John Brown Mason, another member of the committee, was present and presented a proposal that the Association take action to improve and extend its assistance to foreign scholars by furnishing research materials. On motion of Harvey Walker, seconded by J. B. Shannon, the incoming president was authorized to appoint a committee to facilitate the collection and shipment of books and periodicals to European and Asiatic scholars from private libraries.

The report of the Committee on Citizenship Participation in Politics was presented by the chairman, Ben A. Arneson. This report indicated considerable activity in regional meetings and in various educational institutions in the development of increased interest among students and faculty in the idea and desirability of personal participation in political activities. The committee recommended that it be continued and that a place be made on the annual program for 1949 for further discussion of matters within its field of interest. It recommended also that the Association coöperate closely with the Citizenship Clearing House, and that steps be taken to collaborate more directly with other organizations such as the American Bar Association, the Association of American Colleges, and the National Council for the Social Studies in an endeavor to stimulate wider political participation on the part of college-trained men and women. These recommendations were unanimously approved by the Council.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the report prepared by Russell H. Fitzgibbon, chairman of the Committee on Latin-American Affairs. This report indicated a number of current activities, and the Council voted that the committee be continued in order to bring them to a successful conclusion.

The report of the Committee on Political Science and Labor Management Relations prepared by Phillips Bradley was also presented by the Secretary-Treasurer. This report indicated a belief that further attention should be given by the Association to the field of labor-management relations as one appropriate for analysis and instruction by political scientists. The committee was continued in accordance with its request, with authority to the incoming president to increase its size if deemed advisable.

Francis W. Coker, chairman of the Committee on Memorial Awards, presented a report from his group outlining the procedure followed during 1948 by the panels of his committee in selecting publications for the awards made annually under the auspices of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation for the best publication on government and democracy, the Willkie Memorial Building for the best publication in the field of international relations, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation for the best publication on government and human welfare. This report was approved and the committee continued.

James W. Fesler presented the report by the Committee on Nominations indicating some of the difficulties which that committee had encountered and recommending that the Association establish a committee to study its nominating procedures. On motion of Joseph M. Ray, seconded by Roscoe C. Martin, the Council voted to establish such an *ad hoc* committee for the year 1949 and referred to it the recommendations and comments of the 1948 committee. The Nominating Committee reported for information the names of those whom it would nominate to the Business Meeting for the vacancies occurring at the close of the present annual meeting and indicated that it was ready to make recommendations for the new offices provided for in the amendments to the constitution resulting from the report of the Committee on Constitutional Structure, provided these amendments were approved at the Business Meeting.

Under the heading of new business, President Spencer suggested for future consideration the desirability of amending the constitution to provide for a Committee on Committees to assist the president in the onerous task of selecting committee chairmen and committee members.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented a letter from Ernest S. Griffith recommending that the Association become a subscribing member of the American Documentation Institute at a cost of $50.00. President Spencer also presented information on this subject, and on motion of Taylor Cole, seconded by Merle Fainsod, the matter was referred to the incoming President, with authority in the Secretary-Treasurer to make the payment if the President satisfies himself that the membership would be advantageous to the Association.

A budget presented by the Secretary-Treasurer showing anticipated income and proposed expenditures of $40,310.00 was approved by the Council on motion of Merle Fainsod, seconded by H. F. Alderfer.

Royden J. Dangerfield presented a report from the Committee on State Department Publications and submitted the following resolution for consideration by the Council:

WHEREAS, the American Political Science Association has a very great and continuing interest in the publications program of the Department of State, and

WHEREAS, the Association is appreciative of the efforts of the Department to improve that program wherever possible

BE IT RESOLVED, by the American Political Science Association, in convention assembled, that the Secretary of the Association be instructed to inform the appropriate State Department officials of the continuing interest of political scientists in the departmental publications program and to specifically call attention to the following:

1. The Association notes with satisfaction the continued improvement in the quality and volume of materials published in the Department of State *Bulletin*, which publication is of great value to all students and teachers of American Diplomacy and International Relations.
2. The Association commends the action of the Department of State in the establishment of the new publication, *Documents and State Papers*, which will make possible the publication of more documentation. It is the feeling of the Association that political science has a most urgent need for as complete publication of documentation as possible.
3. The Association commends the Department of State for the publication of a large number of high quality pamphlets, explaining United States policy, and urges the continuance of such a program.
4. The Association laments the decision of the Department to discontinue work on the Hunter Miller Treaty Edition. It urges the Department to reconsider its decision and to seek from the Congress funds sufficient to complete this most valuable series of volumes.
5. The Association restates its desire, frequently expressed, that the Department of State accelerate the rate of publication of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, with a view to reducing the present sixteen-year lag.
6. The Association commends the Department for undertaking the publication of the *Archives of the German Foreign Office* and urges early completion of this project. The volumes, when published, will be of great value to political scientists.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, by the American Political Science Association, that the Secretary of the Association be instructed to express to the chairmen of the appropriate Congressional committees the great interest of the Association in the publication program of the Department of State and to urge that adequate funds be made available to the Department of State for the purpose of continuing the present program and for augmenting it to the extent necessary to

1. continue the work on the Hunter Miller Treaty Edition;
2. accelerate publication of the *Foreign Relations of the United States;*

3. accelerate work on the *Archives of the German Foreign Office;*
4. improve and enlarge the Department of State *Bulletin* and *Documents and State Papers;*
5. enlarge the pamphlet publication program of the Department.

The resolution was unanimously approved for submission to the Business Meeting of the Association.

The meeting of the Executive Council was adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

The annual Business Meeting of the Association was held at 4:30 P.M. on Wednesday, December 29. President Henry R. Spencer presided.

The Secretary-Treasurer reported to the membership for its information the actions of the Executive Council at its meeting on the preceding Monday. Topics so reported upon included: the election of new members of the Board of Editors of the REVIEW; the creation of an *ad hoc* committee for the study of the nominating procedure of the Association; the acceptance of the New England Political Science Association, the Northern California Political Science Association, and the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association as sections of the American Political Science Association; the financial status of the Association as of November 30, 1948; membership changes during 1948; the Personnel Service during 1948; the initiation of a $1.00 registration fee for the 1949 annual meeting; the meeting places for 1949 (New York) and 1950 (Washington); tentative approval of membership in the American Documentation Institute; the acceptance of the reports and the continuation of the following committees: Improvement of Teaching, Political Parties, Directory, Encouragement of Political Participation, American Legislatures, International Cultural Relations, Latin American Affairs, Government and Labor-Management Relations, Research, Memorial Awards, and State Department Publications; the reviving and reconstitution of the Committee on Judicial Organization and Administration; the receiving of an interim report from the Committee on the REVIEW; approval of the report of the Audit Committee and of the budget for 1949.

Several items of business were reported from the Council to the Business Meeting for action. The first consisted of the amendments to the constitution of the Association proposed by the Committee on Constitutional Structure and approved by the Council at its Monday meeting as set forth earlier in the report of the meeting of the Council. George Graham moved that the proposed amendment to Article V, Section I, be amended by substituting the year 1949 for the 1948 as the effective date and by adding a proviso at the end of the section "in order to provide for full consideration of the nominees by the membership, the nominations shall be announced in the REVIEW prior to the meeting of the Association." The amendment was adopted by a vote of 132 for to 46 against. The proposed amendments to the constitution were then adopted, as amended, by a voice vote.

Charles Aikin presented the proposal of the Committee on Constitutional Structure for the establishment of a Washington office. It was moved by Chairman Aikin and seconded by Jay Sherman that this proposal be approved and that the incoming president appoint a committee to inquire into the availability of the money needed to carry it out. This motion was carried.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented on behalf of the Council the resolution above set forth in full in the report of the Council concerning the State Law Section of the Library of Congress. This resolution was unanimously carried.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the following resolution on behalf of the Council from the Committee on International Cultural Relations.

> WHEREAS plans for the establishment of international organizations in the social sciences are being considered by UNESCO, and
>
> WHEREAS such a step has already received some consideration on the part of APSA,
>
> THEREFORE be it resolved that APSA:
>
> Favors exploration of all possibilities in this direction;
>
> Would prefer the establishment of any international political science association on the basis of group rather than individual membership of national or international associations, sections, regional groups, etc.; with this in view, every effort should be made to promote the development of political science associations in individual countries.
>
> Would favor establishment of headquarters of IPSA elsewhere than in this country (probably in Europe or Great Britain);
>
> Would favor the establishment of some connection between IPSA and UNESCO, but with complete scientific liberty in the activities of the former;
>
> Urges that IPSA should remain true to the scientific study of political phenomena and avoid political bias or propaganda;
>
> Feels that IPSA should direct its efforts in the first instance to stimulation and coördination of national and international groups and individuals, to the improvement of the techniques and methods of political science, and should develop research, educational, or publication programs (translations, microfilms, abstracts, etc.) of its own within the limits of its available resources;
>
> Feels that IPSA should coöperate actively with any organization established or to be established in other social science fields (economics, sociology, etc.) and explore the advantages of a joint secretarial service for these organizations;
>
> Authorizes the President of APSA to designate any member or members of the Association to representation on any committee or in any conference preparing for the organization of IPSA.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

The resolution from the Committee on State Department Publications, set forth in full in the minutes of the Executive Council, was presented by the Secretary-Treasurer on behalf of the Council and unanimously adopted.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the following resolution of appreciation, which was unanimously approved.

> Be it resolved
>
> "That the American Political Science Association express its sincere appreciation to

the Program Committee and to the Committee on Local Arrangements for planning and facilitating the program of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting.

"Be it further resolved that the Association likewise extend its thanks to the Palmer House for the thoughtful coöperation which it has extended under trying circumstances in carrying through the program of the meeting.

"Be it further resolved that the appreciation of the Association be extended to Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Loyola University, Roosevelt College, and the Illinois Institute of Technology for their contributions which made possible the Smoker.

"Be it further resolved that the Association express its appreciation to the Public Administration Clearing House and to the 1313 group of organizations for their courtesy in offering tea at the Public Administration center to those in attendance at its meeting."

James W. Fesler presented the report of the Committee on Nominations as follows: for President, Quincy Wright; for Vice-Presidents, Carl J. Friedrich, Charles M. Kneier, and Donald C. Stone; for three-year terms on the Council, G. Homer Durham, Albert Lepawsky, Carl B. Swisher, Robert K. Carr, and Harvey C. Mansfield. The President invited further nominations, but none were forthcoming, and on motion the nominees were unanimously elected as officers of the Association for 1949.

President Henry R. Spencer called the attention of those present at the Business Meeting to the death during the year of past presidents of the Association Charles Grove Haines and Charles Austin Beard.

The Business Meeting adjourned at 6:05 P.M.

The new Executive Council held a special meeting at 2:50 P.M. on December 30, 1948, with the following members present: Quincy Wright, Charles M. Kneier, Harvey Walker, Belle Zeller, Llewellyn Pfankuchen, Joseph M. Ray, Merle Fainsod, J. B. Shannon, Ben M. Cherrington, Albert Lepawsky, and Harvey C. Mansfield. Past president Henry R. Spencer, Ernest S. Griffith, and Roscoe C. Martin were also present.

President Wright announced that Roscoe C. Martin had been appointed chairman of the Committee on the Washington Office. It was moved by Joseph M. Ray and seconded by Belle Zeller that this committee be appointed for a two-year period and that the $500.00 unallotted from the Carnegie Fund be made available for its use, together with $700.00 from the Association's surplus funds. This motion was unanimously carried.

Ernest S. Griffith, newly appointed chairman of the Program Committee for 1949, discussed briefly the plans of his committe for the New York meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:20 P.M.—HARVEY WALKER, SECRETARY-TREASURER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Political Tradition of the West; A Study in the Development of Modern Liberalism. BY FREDERICK WATKINS. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 368. $5.00.)

An essay in political thought rather than in technical theory, this book stresses the developing ethos of liberal society rather than the systems of closet philosophers. The ideas of many individuals, of course, are surveyed, but the emphasis is always on the way in which they reflect general trends. The result is not a full history of constitutionalism. That would need a more extended treatment and more attention to institutions and social forces. Sometimes, too, one feels that an analogy is being passed off as an argument or (as in the connection suggested between colonialism and dictatorship) looks for more concrete illustration than is forthcoming. But this book is a lucid and stimulating study of a great subject. Its author writes within a wide framework of reference not wholly confined to the Western world. He shows a nice sense for the filiation of ideas and sees them against the background of the social situations in which they are born. Moreover, his essay is not only informed, but urbane and readable as well.

Seeking to define the characteristic features of political life in the West, Professor Watkins stresses first the conception of freedom under law—of a social order established and maintained by general rules of an objective rationality rather than by bureaucracy tempered by regard for ethical precepts. He couples with this the idea of a dualistic society in which the individual is saved from complete subordination to the sole authority of the state. And a third idea to which he gives a good deal of attention is the conception of history as having unity, meaning, and spiritual significance —a conception derived from the Hebrews through Christianity and linked with the modern notion of progress.

It is, however, chiefly the rule of law in a dualistic society in which Professor Watkins finds the essentials of Western constitutionalism. He shows the partial development of legalism among the Greeks, its fuller realization by the Romans. The rise of Christianity provided the necessary arbiter between the individual and government—an authority that could speak for the social conscience and hold even governments to their obligations. Thus Western civilization took on its "definitive form." With the end of the Middle Ages, the problem of establishing the rule of law was posed in new forms. "The progressive secularization of Western civilization made it necessary to reconstruct the bases of social dualism. Ever since the sixteenth century, this work of reconstruction has been the primary problem of Western politics" (pp. 62–63). New conceptions of a secular morality were slowly formulated, while the successive awakening to political consciousness of new classes—first the middle class, then the agricultural classes, and later the proletariat—provided an effective counterbalance to bureaucracy. There was created a new dualism, a dualism of society and government, parliament replacing the church as the organ of community.

Liberalism, says Professor Watkins, is "the modern embodiment of all the characteristic traditions of Western politics." Its crisis, therefore, is a crisis of civilization itself, a repetition on the secular plane of that which accompanied the breakdown of Christian unity three centuries ago. In analyzing this crisis, he argues that the rise of nationalism corrupted liberalism and prevented the growth of a secular international community to replace the religious community of medieval times. He is less specific in his attempt to establish a connection between colonialism and political reaction, but admirable in tracing that between the Bohemian intellectuals such as Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler, and dictatorship. He portrays dictatorship as having roots deep down in Western traditions; but his concluding chapter shows him to be not unhopeful that liberalism can surmount its crisis.

THOMAS P. PEARDON.

Barnard College.

Essays in Political Theory: Presented to George H. Sabine. EDITED BY MILTON R. KONVITZ AND ARTHUR E. MURPHY. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 333. $4.90.)

Not many masters of political philosophy, greeted with a festival volume, can have such cause for pride in the quality of the tribute as Professor Sabine. Seventeen of his former students and colleagues, under the editorship of two of them, have joined here to produce a group of essays, chiefly distinguished for widely ranging interests, a liberal impulse, and most of all, for hard clear thinking. These are characteristics that those who have come within his acquaintance will be quick to identify also in the object of this homage; they were traits, too, of Sabine's sometime teacher, George Lincoln Burr of Cornell.

The arrangement is roughly chronological. The book opens with three first-rate papers on Greek topics, "Cleisthenes and the Development of the Theory of Democracy at Athens," by J. A. O. Larsen; "Plato and the Law of Nature," by Glenn R. Morrow: and "Aristotle on Law," by Francis D. Wormuth. Larsen, searching the antecedents and meaning of the term "democracy," shows how a word of late origin was attributed to earlier forms of government, and how the reformer of one age was appropriated by later conservatives as the author of institutions he did not foresee in order to defeat a democracy they did not like—much as the

Byrds in recent days invoked Jefferson to attack Roosevelt. Morrow traces the evolution of the components of a phrase, the "law of nature," that in Plato came to unite harmoniously two words once thought antithetical. Wormuth introduces the one real note of iconoclasm in the book, in tearing down Aristotle's supposed reverence for law. Following this comes what the general reader may find the hardest going for the least reward, an exposition of the views of Grotius' Neapolitan contemporary Vico on Roman law.

Three papers then deal with characteristic concerns of eighteenth-century thought, and four with such a varied assortment as Marx, John Morley, Croce, and a forerunner of Nazism. Bertram Morris, seeking a current validity for "The Substance of the Social Contract," and arguing from Maine's " . . . half truth: Men can live by contract only when it gives them status," finds a viable basis for consent and obligation in popular participation in social and political institutions. And in the most entertaining reading in the book, "Mr. Northrop and Mr. Locke," Arthur E. Murphy writes a devastating review of F. S. C. Northrop's *The Meeting of East and West.* Demonstrating relentlessly "the sustained thoroughness of its misconception of liberal ideas," he appeals from the gloss to the text, to conclude that the result of Northrop's efforts "is a triumph of the constructive imagination over intractable materials, but it is not Locke." He says his "purpose is not polemical but constructive," and so it is. But he plainly enjoys the incidental carnage, and so will you. Milton R. Konvitz reminds us that "compromise is the price . . . for majority rule," but brings John Morley to witness that freedom of opinion sets a bound to the proper claims of the majority.

Students of Sabine will doubtless find most interest in three papers by Julius R. Weinberg, Frederick L. Will, and G. Watts Cunningham, which in the highest tradition of academic controversy tilt with his insistence that beyond reason an act of faith or will is required in ultimate moral judgments; they think reason can go as far as belief or desire. Doubts on this matter which have persisted for some centuries will not be settled in this space; I can only applaud a clean fight. The book closes (except for Sabine's bibliography through September, 1947) on a note reminiscent of the opening paper; in another of his workmanlike and perceptive essays, Robert E. Cushman shows how the Supreme Court has transformed Holmes' "clear and present danger" phrase from a judge's test of when words become deeds to an accepted measure of legislative competence to control words as such. This time, Mr. Justice Frankfurter figures as the latter-day conservative.

HARVEY C. MANSFIELD.

Ohio State University.

Individualism and Economic Order. By FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 272. $5.00.)

This volume of essays deals with some of the themes discussed in the author's earlier volume, *The Road to Serfdom*, but being less a tract for the times, it will probably generate less heat and more light than that much-debated polemic against socialism. In this volume, Professor Hayek ranges from a discussion of moral philosophy to the methods of the social sciences and from problems of economic policy to questions in pure economic theory. Though many will disagree with some or all of his views, few will deny that he writes with vigor, considerable freshness and originality, and wide learning (*Pace* Professor Herman Finer!)

"True" individualism, in Hayek's eyes, stems from Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, and Edmund Burke; it flowers in the works of Tocqueville and Lord Acton. Its emphasis is upon the oft-neglected or oft-minimized fact that the spontaneous collaboration of free men often creates things which are better for society than anything that any single mind, design, or plan could have achieved. Hayek affirms the value of the local and small community, the "curse" of bigness, the dangers of majority tyranny, the peril of losing individual liberty in the quest for social equality. One may agree with nearly all the author's positive assertions and values without accepting the sharp dichotomy he makes between schools of individualists or his thesis that all types of planning must be incompatible with individual freedom.

Professor Hayek proves that the empirical element in economic theory consists (to a great extent) of statements about the acquisition of knowledge by individuals. He maintains that a fundamental difference exists between facts in the natural and the social sciences. In the latter, as Hayek sees it, objects are defined in terms of the opinions people hold about them. In his mind there is no doubt about the falsity of the assumption that a rational economic order can be devised on the basis of "given" data on resources, preferences, and available means, inasmuch as the desired knowledge is communicated and achieved only through individuals using the price system. The first and last theses fit in very well with his contention in another essay that most economists go wrong in relying upon the theory of perfect competition as a test of effective competition in real life or a guide to policy. Imperfect or monopolistic competition is the rule, and instead of being criticized for its lacks should be appreciated and extended or created in regions where monopoly prevails. Here the influence of Joan Robinson, *Economics of Imperfect Competition*, and Edward H. Chamberlin, *Theory of Monopolistic Competition*, can be seen, although the distinctions between these two authors' systems are not brought out. The deviation by Hayek from strict *laissez-faire* or classical competitive theory, as generally understood, is further shown in his redefining liberalism, à la Brandeis, as a policy which deliberately adopts competition, the market, and prices as its ordering principle and uses the state to make competition as effective and beneficial as possible. He regards what some call "free" enterprise as opposed to the "competitive order" he values. He is against not only industrial protectionism and government-supported cartels, but the unqualified extension of the concept of property to such rights and privileges as patents for inventions, copyright, and trademarks. Corporations and trade unions, in his opinion, should not be granted the same freedom and rights as the individual. The reader, however, will have to turn to Henry C. Simons, *Economic Policy for a Free Society*, for more light on how to implement Hayek's general principles.

The most provocative and perhaps rewarding part of the whole volume is the section entitled "Socialist Calculation" (pp. 119–208). Here Hayek presents a masterly survey of (1) the nature and history of the problem of whether rational calculation is possible in a centrally directed economy without a money-price system; (2) the extent to which the best economic theorists of socialism by the late 1930's abandoned the orthodox *in natura* value calculation for a money-price system with competition joined to price-fixing by the central economic authority; and (3) the theoretical and practical difficulties in this "competitive solution." Though the author's criticisms are stringent and weighty, diverse noted economists have dissented from his conclusions. Cf. A. C. Pigou, *Socialism versus Capitalism*, and Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. It is unfortunate that Hayek does not consider the possibilities of the coöperative movement, as Horace M. Kallen's *Decline and Rise of the Consumer* does, or of the reconciliation of liberalism and socialism in welfare economics along the lines of Abba P. Lerner's *The Economics of Control.*

SIDNEY RATNER.

Rutgers University.

Latin-American Legal Philosophy. BY LUIS RECASÉNS SICHES, CARLOS COSSIO, JUAN LLAMBÍAS DE AZEVEDO, AND EDUARDO GARCÍA MÁYNEZ. With an introduction by Josef L. Kunz. Twentieth Century Legal Philosophy Series, Vol. 3. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxvii, 557. $6.00.)

Through its Modern Legal Philosophy Series, the Association of American Law Schools did much to enrich American juristic thought by making readily available many of the outstanding European works on the philosophy of law. This second series, which has already presented a completely rewritten edition of Kelsen's *General Theory of Law and State* and a volume of selected writings on *The Jurisprudence of Interests* by its principal European proponents and critics, and now gives us the first significant volume in English of the writings of outstanding Latin-American legal philosophers,[1] promises to be almost as significant.

The title is deceptive. As the introduction points out, Latin-American legal philosophy has always been a mere offshoot of European legal philosophy; and the scholasticism of St. Thomas Aquinas, eighteenth-century French natural law doctrines, the positivism of Auguste Comte, Kantian and neo-Kantian thought, have all dominated in turn. The last is perhaps still dominant; yet there is nothing in this volume from the pen of the great Mexican leader of this school, Antonio Caro. The sociological jurisprudence school of F. Pontes de Miranda of Brazil is equally unrepresented. Perhaps this is explained by the desire of the editors to stress originality as much or more than intrinsic merit or representative character. In any case, save for the contribution of Juan Llambías de Azevedo, of Montevideo, the volume might well have been given some such title as "Latin-American Views upon the Pure Theory of Law: Its Value and Its Shortcomings." In elaborating the shortcomings, the editors draw extensively upon the contributions of Husserl, Heidegger, Scheler, and Hartmann.

Well over half the volume is given to a complete translation of Recaséns' *Human Life, Society, and Law,* first published in Mexico in 1939, but revised in 1944. A Latin-American only by grace of the Spanish civil war, his excellent treatise clearly reflects his Spanish, German, and Austrian training. His attack upon Kelsen's theory of the identity of law and state caused the latter to revise an entire section of his *General Theory of Law and State* in preparing the American revision of this work. Political scientists will be particularly interested in the important rôle that he attaches to judicial decisions, not only in primitive but in the most highly developed legal systems, in his discussion of "the generating sources of law." In this he clearly shows the influence of such writings as F. Clemente de Diego, *La jurisprudencia como fuente de derecho* (Madrid, 1925), and Marcel Mornet, *Du rôle et des droits de la jurisprudence en matière civile* (Paris, 1904).

This increased interest in judge-made law is only normal for Latin Americans, whose systems of constitutional and administrative law, like administrative law in France, are developing largely by precedents, there being no Roman, Continental, or local codes to copy. It is further illustrated by the subject chosen by Professor Cossio, of the University of La Plata, to serve as the introduction to his treatise on legal theory: "The phenomenology of the judicial decision." Only this introduction has been used. He drives home his point by quoting (p. 385) from a 1942 decision of an Argentine court questioning the validity of a municipal ordinance: "The Deliberative Council, on exercising the authoritative power delegated to it by Congress, although it deals with acts of the police power, must adjust it to the principles of justice and public utility." American scholars will note the similarity to the common law rule that bylaws are void if unreasonable. Since this undoubtedly was one of the bases out of which our present concept of due process developed as a limitation upon central governments, it will be interesting to watch the future of the doctrine in Argentina.

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[1] Cossio and Recaséns Siches are also reprinted in *Interpretations of Modern Legal Philosophies: Essays in Honor of Roscoe Pound* (1947), as are also A. S. Bustamente y Montoro of Cuba and E. Martínez Paz of Argentina.

Llambías de Azevedo is not interested in the form of the law, but in its essence. In his "Eidetics and aporetics of the law," he concludes: "The center of gravity of the philosophy of law is not the delimitation of the concept of positive law. . . . Positive law is not the problem, but the phenomenon which sets problems" (p. 458). García Máynez, director of the important center of philosophical study at the National University of Mexico, is represented by two challenging contributions: "The Philosophical-Juridical Problem of the Validity of Law" and "Liberty as Right and as Power."

If a general conclusion can be drawn to cover the views represented in this volume, it is that the Pure Theory of Law is not a science of law at all, but a system of juridical logic, valuable as a tool but meaningless by itself.

The translations are uniformly of high quality, and are credited to Gordon Ireland, Milton R. Konvitz, Miguel A. de Capriles, and Jorge Roberto Hayzus.

J. A. C. GRANT.

University of California (Los Angeles).

The Enduring Federalist. EDITED BY CHARLES A. BEARD. (New York: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. 391. $4.00.)

The Federalist. EDITED BY MAX BELOFF. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. lxxi, 484. $2.25.)

Some teachers must, in their seminars, already have produced their own edition of *The Federalist.* Such an edition annotates its arguments, promises, and warnings, with an account of what occurred in the century and a half since the arguments of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay proved successful. Such an edition may have been an exercise in the establishment of a prophecy's validity. If, in addition, they added comments on the comparative evolution of political institutions and ideas in other nations, they put at the disposal of the student a liberal education through the medium of political science.

Neither of the two editions before us adopts this method. Mr. Beloff's is far preferable to Mr. Beard's. He supplies the whole text, while Beard omits some papers and cuts others. Beloff's introductory essay is dignified, sober, and incisive, while Beard's is often popular in tone and faulty in judgment. The Beard edition is, if I may say so, "jazzed up" with cross-headings and irrelevant illustrations, while Beloff seems to assume that students are able to read whole pages for themselves. In a serious age, what is the purpose of being the intellectual opposite of the Spartans?

Let us consider the editing more closely. First, Mr. Beard. His purpose (p. v.) is hardly furthered by omitting the papers on the defects of the Articles of Confederation. When William Pitt had to answer what had been won by the costly war with France, he said: "All that would have been lost if the war had not been fought." The United States Constitution won all that the Confederation was losing; the working deficiencies of the Articles are political science.

Nor is the truncation of the papers a service to the reader. Let us instance only Paper No. 70, on the executive. There can be no excuse for omitting a passage on the confusions of responsibility attending a plural executive, or another on the proper size of a multiple executive.

The cross-headings in the Beard edition are sometimes quite misleading. Thus in Paper No. 10 (p. 70) a cross-heading "Tenacity of the Combative Spirit" floats over the paragraph on the causes of faction in man, and does not represent the material at all. Again on p. 212, in Paper No. 47, the cross-head, "Montesquieu's Error as to the British Constitution" utterly misrepresents the text.

The main substance of Beard's introduction is an historical account of the writing of the papers (Beloff's account is much neater); some observations on the importance of the *Federalist* for present-day students; and a kind of essay on the merits and demerits of the Constitution as it now stands.

Two main reasons are advanced for the contemporary importance of the papers. The first (p. 10) is: "In my opinion it [*The Federalist*] is the most instructive work on political science ever written in the United States; and owing to its practical character, it ranks first in the world's literature of political science. Such it is, as I am given to see things, at least for discriminating persons interested in knowing and thinking as distinguished from dreaming and longing." The second reason is the relevance of the American Union to world federalism.

The first reason is assuredly unfortunate in its tone. It may be true for the United States (if the great legal commentaries are ruled out and if the works of Jefferson are omitted), provided the comparison is confined to the practical, and further to the federal institutions. The moment Beard's reference goes beyond these very narrow confines, it is impossible not to think of Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* and the *Reflections*, Tom Paine, and Bentham's writings up to the year 1800. The tone becomes even more dismaying when Beard (p. 20) vaunts the authors of *The Federalist* against "the ideologies and theoreticians so influential in the Western world; for example, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau," and denigrates these two because they were not practical men. One would be persuaded that Locke had no beneficial influence on the Federalists and the United States; and the *Social Contract* is labelled "poisonous rubbish." Peevish iconoclasm is no more a service to the student than is the uncritical embrace of the past.

In adumbration of his second reason, Beard does not examine the soundness of the world federalists' analogical argument at all. Beloff does so, warning that the United States was founded in unparalleledly propitious circumstances, and, even then, hardly founded by popular choice and approbation. (The student might well compare the process with Hume's account of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in Britain; a few hundred men were practically sovereign in both cases.) Even Beard's information on the right of withdrawal from the United Nations (p. 2) is inaccurate.

The student will be well rewarded in preferring Mr. Beloff's edition, though some of the points made are dubious. He will particularly like the analysis of the opinion of human nature held by *The Federalist* essayists, and Beloff's discussion of their political philosophy—what men are and what men want. But surely there is no reason to share Mr. Beloff's surprise concerning the duality he seems to discern in their "pessimistic" view of the dispositions of man and their addiction to natural rights. For their "pessimism" was not absolute; and no doubt their convictions regarding natural rights were as tempered as were Burke's and Bentham's. It is hardly fair to draw the "pessimism" of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay from these special papers, and yet contrast it with a view of natural rights *not* drawn from these same papers or from other relevant writings of these same men: it is to compare unlike worlds.

Perhaps some others of the views of Beloff's introduction might have been differently conceived. For example (p. xvi), the passage of power to the colonial legislatures was not merely a narrow exercise in the separation of powers—for the fairly clean-cut "executive" as distinct from the "legislative" and "judicial" nowhere existed. The "executives" known to the independent American states, to those of Britain, France, Prussia, and so on, were "executives" not only wielding very substantial legislative powers, but possessing *authority*. Hence, the issue was not merely organization, but the legitimate location of sovereign power. If Beloff's observation that "the argument of much of the *Federalist* is unintelligible unless one realizes the strength of this prejudice against the executive arm" is true, it is so because the prejudice was against something more pretentious than the mere "executive."

Beloff makes a much-needed correction of the vulgar assumption that Madison's Paper No. 10 was a precursor of Marx. He observes that the notion of a developing society was absent from the Papers, and that absent also was the idea that social organization and ideology follow from economic change. But he might have gone further. Madison lists quite a number of other, non-economic, reasons why men have always formed passionate factions. These are never emphasized. Beloff calls Madison's economic interests a "dominant motive"; but Madison never said that. Madison said, "most common and durable." But "dominant" looks like most intense and overruling. Yet Madison merely said (my paraphrase) "most frequently met in time and place."

Both Beard and Beloff are impressed with the mind of the *Federalist* writers, as we all well may be. There is something luminous, well-knit, direct, and tenacious about their writing, which is a perpetual delight. Beard puts it down to their being educated; Beloff rather to the fact that knowledge in the eighteenth century was more of a unity than our knowledge is today. (We have left aside, let it be remembered, the historical validity of their arguments.) Waiving this, their strength did lie in their education, which followed the old English rule of *non multa sed multum:* that is, it was not concerned with many things, but with much, and thoroughly much about some things; and, with the limited time at man's disposal, that is the road to penetrating thought. Their knowledge was less a unity through absence of surplus facts than a unity because the limited material was the object of reflection all the more focussed and meditative. Applied to an object of passion—the constitution—they gave it a brilliance which all affirmations of any strength will exhibit when such qualities are in the service of such elevated objects as "a more perfect Union."

HERMAN FINER.

University of Chicago.

The American Constitution; Its Origins and Development. BY ALFRED H. KELLY AND WINIFRED A. HARBISON. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 940. $7.50.)

This spacious book must inevitably be compared with Carl B. Swisher's *American Constitutional Development* and Andrew C. McLaughlin's *A Constitutional History of the United States.* It is pleasing to report that it does not suffer by this exacting comparison.

It is not a book for the specialist in American constitutional law. Professors Kelly and Harbison have directed their study to "the average undergraduate student or general reader," and have provided him with a sweeping review of our constitutional history from the New England and Virginia settlements to the most recent Supreme Court decisions in the field of civil liberties. The authors would doubtless be the last to claim that they have come up with any new or startling insights into our constitutional development. Nevertheless, they need not apologize for writing another major volume in this familiar field. Their book may be distinguished from its forerunners on several major counts. The most important of these, from the point of view of the teacher of American constitutional history and theory, is its excellent proportion. For example, many will be delighted to have a text in this field that devotes some sixty well-planned pages to our colonial experience in political institutions. Too many constitutional histories begin with the Constitution.

The mood of the book is one of sober optimism. The authors are aware of the nature and intensity of the recent and present assaults on free political institutions, but are confident that the "immense dynamic vitality" of our constitutional government makes our democratic future reasonably certain. In their own words, "The central thesis of American constitutionalism is that free men can solve the problems of modern society under processes of law and without resort to tyranny." Their erudite chapters furnish one case study after another in support of this worthy thesis. Moreover, the authors constantly remind us of a truth that Americans should never forget and never be anything but forthright in asserting: we are, after all, a *constitutional* democracy. Indeed, for them, as for most of us, the adjective is superfluous. There have been nations that were constitutional without being democratic, but there is none that is democratic without being constitutional. The Constitution was not a democratic document, but without it, or something like it, there could be no such thing as American democracy.

If there is any criticism to make of this sound and worthy book, it is that its pages are noticeably, and perhaps intentionally, lacking in the brilliantly provocative generalizations in which the treatises of Swisher and McLaughlin abound. The present authors are generally content, especially in their final chapters on recent developments in constitutional interpretation, to present the facts and let the student draw his own (or accept his teacher's) generalizing conclusions about the major trends in our constitutional law to which these facts might be leading. But this, of course, is the easiest and most feckless type of criticism: scolding an author, not for what he said, but for what he didn't say. It must be galling for a scholar who has produced a readable, conscientious treatment of some particular subject to come across a review of his book that glibly states: "This is an excellent work, as far as it goes, but I wish Professor X had gone further and told about such-and-such a problem," when Professor X had deliberately concluded that such-and-such a problem was not germane to his thesis and method of presentation. Professors Kelly and Harbison set out to write a lucid and scholarly basic history of American constitutional development—and they have succeeded in doing just that.

CLINTON L. ROSSITER.

Cornell University.

Liberty Against Government; The Rise, Flowering, and Decline of a Famous Juridical Concept. By Edward S. Corwin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 210. $3.00.)

In this volume, Professor Corwin has attempted to present as a continuous story "the oldest theme which underlies the history of American constitutional law, that of *Liberty Against Government.*" He confines his attention primarily to liberty as a juridical concept—that is to say, as a constitutional limitation enforcible by the courts—although his extensive and compelling survey of its Roman and English origins leads him repeatedly into the broader realms of political philosophy. In analyzing the connotations of "liberty," the author finds that the general concept gives rise to two types of claims which the individual may make upon the political order: first, the claim that government protect the claimant in the safe continuance of his existing way of life; second, the claim that government contribute something to the improvement of the claimant's way of life. Clearly, the latter is more in the nature of a political than a legal or juridical matter. It is in elaborating the former that the potential conflict between these two aspects of "liberty" is translated into legal battles, judicial opinions, and juridical doctrine. More specifically, in this sense it becomes a problem of the extent to which "liberty" is protected *by* (one branch of) government *against* (other branches of) government. This introduces one of the two ambiguities which run throughout the literature on this subject, from which even this volume is not immune: (1) the "liberties" being protected against government would have no effective legal meaning in the absence of governmental institutions themselves which define and enforce them: (2) "liberties" of a civil or political nature may have a function and a rôle in a constitutional democracy quite different in nature and degree of significance from those of the economic liberties normally associated with freedom of enterprise and liberty of contract. In this latter connection, the title of the book is, in this reviewer's opinion, misleading—a point to which I should like to return.

After laying his analytical and historical groundwork, Professor Corwin turns to an examination of the process by which long-familiar ideas of limited government and fundamental liberties were translated into the law of the American Constitution through court decisions. Here much of the material is already well-known to students of constitutional law, thanks largely to Professor Corwin's own earlier labors in this field. In fact, the bulk of the book takes its character from a careful re-working of earlier articles in the *Harvard Law Review* and the *Michigan Law Review* on "The Doctrine of Due Process of Law before the Civil War," "The Basic Doctrine of American Constitutional Law," and "The 'Higher Law' Background of American Constitutional Law," all of which have long since earned a place as classics in the literature on this subject. The content of these articles is so well known that little need be said here except perhaps to summarize the important impressions re-emphasized by viewing this material in the broader perspective afforded by this continuous treatment. Among these are: (1) the striking continuity of ideas of limited government, not only as a political concept but also as a legally binding restraint upon authority; (2) the significance of the notion that limitations on government derive *from* conceptions of democratic popular sovereignty rather than as restraints *upon* the right of the people to shape their own destinies; (3) the natural and understandable process whereby, under the dominance of *laissez-faire* theories of politics and economics, the effective impact of this concept was developed into legal protection of what Professor Corwin calls "proprietarian connotations through the doctrine of liberty of contract," at the expense of the protection for civil and political liberties also inherent in the broader concept; (4) the vitally significant rôle of the state courts in this process, years before the doctrine was ultimately accepted by the U. S. Supreme Court; and (5) the almost revolutionary nature of the shift in emphasis which has taken place in recent years, and which has virtually destroyed "liberty of contract" while replacing it with a tremendously broadened protection of civil and political liberties.

It is in this last connection that further comment on the rather unfortunate choice of a title—or, more properly, subtitle—is in order. While it is undoubtedly true that, if one is talking of the doctrine of "liberty of contract" as the core of "liberty against government," the last few years have seen the decline—if not the extinction—of this famous juridical concept. On the other hand, if civil liberties and their effective protection be also considered as a vital part of "liberty against government," then it is difficult to see how the "rise, flowering, and decline of a famous juridical concept" equally embraces a description of what has been happening in this area. Indeed, as the evidence of the book itself abundantly demonstrates, and as the author's concluding résumé penetratingly discusses, what has happened has been the decline of one juridical concept and the remarkable burgeoning of another. To leave the impression, even by the tenuous implication of a subtitle, that liberty of contract is so central to democratic conceptions of liberty that its decline is tantamount to a decline in the vigor of "liberty against government" is perhaps unfortunate. The civil liberties decisions of the present Supreme Court would provide little support for such a conclusion. One is tempted to suspect that this is a publisher's title, and not Professor Corwin's own. Certain it is, in any event, that the author would be the first to stress that what has happened has been a shift in what courts deem to be important within the concept of "liberty against government" rather than the decline and desuetude of the concept itself. As Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt says in the foreword, this careful and stimulating story of a vital juridical concept proves once more the wisdom of Mr. Justice Holmes' observation that, "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanging, it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and time in which it is used." Liberty against government, in the sense in which Holmes himself stressed it, still remains a vital concept of American constitutional law.

VINCENT M. BARNETT, JR.

Williams College.

American Experiences in Military Government in World War II. BY CARL J. FRIEDRICH AND ASSOCIATES. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 436. $3.50.)

Professor Friedrich has combined into an excellent and useful volume contributions of fifteen participants (including himself) in military government planning, training, or operations. Almost all had military government experience in the field or at higher headquarters. All are academic men and ten are political scientists. All chapters were closed by the end of the summer of 1946, although footnotes carry some portions well into 1947.

Opening the book himself with an essay on "Military Government and Democratization; A Central Issue of American Foreign Policy," Professor Friedrich analyzes, among other things, the root paradox of "democratization by force." Merle Fainsod systematically and critically (in both senses of the word) traces "The Development of American Military Government Policy During World War II." Then, based upon their headquarters and field experience, George C. S. Benson and Mark DeWolfe Howe analyze "Military Government Organizational Relationships." They reinforce Friedrich and Fainsod by emphasizing that "mistakes are frequent if the organization of military government is planned without regard for the political purposes being pursued" (p. 69). Robert G. Neumann draws some interesting lessons from a neglected subject, "Political Intelligence and Its Relation to Military Government," and Frederick M. Watkins compares the "Military Occupation Policy of the Axis Powers."

There follow descriptive accounts and evaluations of experience in every general area of occupation. Italy and Austria are ably covered by George C. S. Benson—jointly with Maurice Neufeld for Italy. The devastation faced by military government teams in Italy is rivalled by the criticism of these two participants. Likewise in Austria all was not perfection, although Benson points out that the "many shortcomings . . . must not allow one to lose sight of the final accomplishment" (p. 170). "Civil Affairs in France," by Merritt Y. Hughes, reads more like a conscientious but official history.

Germany receives the lengthier treatment it deserves. About half is written by Friedrich ("Organizational Evolution in Germany, 1945–1947," "The Three Phases of Field Operations in Germany, 1945–1946," and "Denazification, 1944–1946"). His evaluation of our denazification policy to 1946 is particularly thoughtful. Joseph Dunner critically appraises "Information Control in the American Zone of Germany, 1945–1946." Dale Clark's chapter, "Conflicts Over Planning at Staff Headquarters," is illuminating even to some of those who were present during the entire "Battle of Bushy Park." Part of this illumination comes from fireworks, for Clark was probably the most outspoken of the anti-Morgenthau men in the early U. S. Group C.C. Portions of this revealing chapter are fit for use as a sober case study in the politics of administration.

Although he found them of real interest, this reviewer is less qualified to assess the Pacific chapters: "Experience in the Pacific Islands as Illustrated by Guam," by Edward G. Lewis; "American Military Government Experience in Japan," by Arthur D. Bouterse, Philip H. Taylor, and Arthur A. Maass; and "Military Government Experience in Korea," part by Philip H. Taylor and part by Donald S. McDonald.

Most of the authors, fortunately, undertake to generalize somewhat; but to generalize their generalizations would require more space than has been allotted here. The main point is that when they recommend such things as, for example, earlier abandonment of tactical in favor of territorial organization, or a recognition of the virtues of indirect control, they can illustrate concretely. And there is very little whitewash or blackwash used.

The book's only serious defect is that of a certain military government general, about whom it was once remarked, "The only trouble with him is that there is'nt *enough* of him." Alongside this volume and a few others, there is empty yardage on the shelves waiting for detailed case studies focused even more sharply upon episodes, like Knappen's *And Call It Peace.* Another gap is the international story, in the manner of Ratchford and Ross, *Berlin Reparations Assignment.*

R. W. VAN WAGENEN.

Duke University.

Administrative Reflections From World War II. BY LUTHER GULICK. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1948. Pp. 139. $2.50.)

Two years ago, Luther Gulick, speaking out of the richness of his experience in a dozen defense, war, and reconversion agencies from 1939 to 1946, delivered five lectures before the Fellows of the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration at the University of Alabama. His purpose was "to draw from the recent war general administrative lessons for the present and the immediate future." All students and practitioners of public administration will profit from his effort, now made available in the third significant volume on public management to be issued recently by the University of Alabama Press.

Many readers of these lectures will agree with Mr. Gulick that "though it is still too early to draw conclusions with certainty and finality from the experience of this war, it is not too early to commence the effort"; and all of his readers will appreciate the candor which leads him to say: "I have taken the liberty of stating my own present conclusions in what may be regarded by some as an unduly final and dogmatic form, hoping that this will sharpen the discussion and lead more rapidly to a winnowing out of the essential truth of our war experiences in administration."

But it is neither undue finality nor dogma in these *Reflections*, although they are occasionally present, which makes the strongest impression upon the reader. The "lesson" which emerges most clearly is the very great difficuly encountered (even by one who had so fertile an experience as Luther Gulick) in stating any lesson from our war experiences which is not either so general as to be ambiguous or so specific as to be dogmatic. Many factors contribute to this difficulty. One of these is that our great final victory places a halo of success around our administrative practices which blurs the vision of the participant-observer; although the author shows clear awareness of this influence, he does not wholly escape it. Another is that past experience is always an imperfect, frequently an irrelevant, guide to present (and even more to future) action.

Nevertheless, the general administrative lessons drawn by the author from his observations of our war experience have the sweep, the stature, and the stimulating originality which will, as he hopes, serve the useful purpose of raising discussion and concentrating the evidence. The major part of his book, following a brief historical analysis and a balance sheet of accomplishments and failures, consists of fifteen "lessons" for administration. These lessons, or "hypotheses, calling for a great deal of further undergirding and analysis," can be briefly listed in the language of the author's own summaries: "The American constitutional system and the management system established under it showed great resiliency and strength." "A clear statement of purpose in terms of time, resources, and interrelations is the outstanding guarantee of effective administration." "The translation from purpose to program is the crucial step in administration." "Coördination, that is, the dynamic interrelation of purpose, organization, and manpower, is essential, and makes possible an achievement far beyond the sum total of the elements combined." "Planning cannot be separated from operations, nor operations from planning." "Decentralization is essential." "The war taught us again the pervasive importance of good personnel." "The war gave us a new recognition of the value of time in administration." "International administration, we discovered, rests on the same administrative arts and procedures as does other administration." "The support of public opinion is essential." "Interest group representation can aid in perfecting programs and securing public support, but is to be used in administration only with caution." "Truly effective action in administration arises from singleness of national purpose and clarity of policy."

Here indeed are important and provocative generalizations for fruitful analysis and high debate. Discussions among students of public administration will be sharpened and channels of research will be more meaningful as a result of Gulick's boldness and imagination, even though in the end he evokes as much rebuttal and dissent as confirmation.

Some aspects of the dissent may even now be anticipated. The author's experience, despite its scope and variety, produced a preoccupation with the initial rather than with the more mature stages of war agencies; the perspective is that of an adviser to top-management, with resulting connotations of remoteness from intimate knowledge of the rank-and-file administrative environment; the emphasis is heavily weighted upon the major, that is, the external, contours of administration, to the neglect of the internal, the informal, the political, the subtler, forms and habits of administration. One is tempted to speculate that the author, who has long represented the premises of scientific management in their emphatic though enlightened form, is still largely contained within their frame of reference. Politics, the scale of values, is now seen by him as a full partner in the house of administration, but the dichotomy persists; administration is not yet seen as in fact one of the political processes. The most productive dissent from these dynamic *Reflections*, then, would seem to be the search for a new frame of reference which will give greater rather than less meaning to Gulick's wide-ranging postulates.

WALLACE S. SAYRE.

Cornell University.

Government as Employer. BY STERLING D. SPERO. (New York: Remsen Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 497. $5.65.)

Mr. Government, the employer, who has required Mr. Private Business to adhere to a large number of laws and rules governing labor relations, hardly could read Professor Spero's book without a few embarrassed blushes. For the study shows that government in this country has not always been a model employer. It cites many occasions when the national, state, and local governments have tried (often successfully) to suppress or control public employee organizations and have bitterly resisted the efforts of public workers to better their working conditions. The book likewise presents the brighter side of the picture, such as the lead taken by the federal government in recognizing eight hours as a day's work, and, more recently, the progressive labor policies of the TVA.

The author traces the rise of trade unionism, with all its splits and mergers, in government in the United States, and the efforts of public employees to gain their ends both by lobbying and by collective bargaining. Separate chapters deal with civilian employees of the Army and Navy, white collar workers, post-office workers, firemen, police, and teachers.

The book is packed full of interesting and useful information. The reader will find abundant material on such diversified topics as the Lloyd-La Follette Act of 1912 ("the most important single piece of legislation on the books affecting the rights of federal employees"), the Boston police strike and its nation-wide effects, the Tennessee Valley Authority's agreements with its employees, Postmaster-General Burleson's attacks on unions, loyalty investigations, and the present numerical strength of government unions.

The study implies that government employees have suffered because of their failure to take advantage of the benefits of unionization, and, when they have organized, because they sometimes have remained polite rather than militant. He minimizes the dictum that government's relations to those who earn their livelihood in its service is different from the relation of private employers to their employees, and decries such absolute statements as "you cannot strike against the government." Nevertheless, he recognizes that in some instances public employees cannot be permitted to exercise the same freedom of collective bargaining and striking as private employees. In general, he describes but does not directly advocate. He pleads, however, for mutual restraint on the part of both government and its employees for the purpose of achieving the delicate balance which must be maintained between the freedom of the employee and the authority of the government.

Never before has the general subject of this book been so fully and well covered.

M. NELSON MCGEARY.

Pennsylvania State College.

Politics in the Empire State. BY WARREN MOSCOW. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. 238, x. $3.00.)

Teachers of government in New York have long needed a single volume covering the essential features of the state's government. By reason of New York's leading position in the nation's politics, the public has also desired a book which would help clarify the inherent nature of political forces within the state. To a very considerable degree, these needs are fulfilled by Mr. Moscow's description and evaluation of the operation of government and politics in a state which holds over one-tenth of the membership of the House of Representatives and has provided a major presidential nominee in fifteen of the last twenty presidential elections.

By his own admission, the author writes exclusively from his long experience as Albany reporter for the *New York Times*. Despite the absence of any documentation, he has related the story well and quite adequately. He is intensely practical without being cynical, critical without being Peglerian, and generally temperate in his judgments.

The book is well-organized, almost in the fashion of a textbook, and contains an excellent index. After showing the importance of New York in the national scene, the characteristics of the electorate are noted, followed in order by a description of the election laws, and more especially of the primaries, the Republican, Democratic, and "splinter" parties, and the major county machines in the state. The second half of the book is devoted to an analysis of the courts, the legislature, the executive, lobbying groups, and the position of the cities. A final chapter, "Who's Going to Win?," discusses public opinion polls. Some of the viewpoints here will be challenged by operators of polls, such as the belief that polls do have some effect on the electoral outcome.

Although many personalities are mentioned, the author passes up gossip and "inside dope" in favor of concentrating on the more permanent and salient characteristics of politics. He does present, however, special portraits of Roosevelt, Lehman, La Guardia, and Dewey. His description of Dewey's rise to power, political techniques and methods, relationship with machines and the press, temperament and ability, are especially timely. Several weaknesses in the Governor's abilities and program are noted, together with the amazing failure of the Democrats to capitalize on them. "Democrats in the state," writes the author, "just rolled over and played dead when Dewey assumed the governorship." Though the delegates to the Republican National Convention apparently overlooked the holes in the Dewey armor, Mr. Truman and millions of voters did not.

The book does not purport to be a text on New York state government, and would not be fully satisfactory if so used. In addition to its lack of references, there are some important omissions, a few inaccuracies, and several value judgments open to question. The literacy test, for example, is incorrectly stated. The brief, uncomplimentary reference to the operation of proportional representation gives a highly distorted picture. In a chapter devoted to political machines, Mr. Moscow ignores the Republican organization in Queens county, which is one of the best in the state and a far greater deliverer of votes than many others which Moscow deems worthy of consideration. Although the high degree of independent voting in the state is correctly stressed, the author regards civic groups such as the League of Women Voters and the Citizens Union as incapable of "exerting effective political pressure." This overlooks the generally commendable rôle performed by these and other good government groups in recent years. On the whole, the book is much better than the average journalist-views-politics volume and deserves to be widely read, both by the public and by political scientists.

HUGH A. BONE.

University of Washington.

On Active Service in Peace and War. BY HENRY L. STIMSON AND MCGEORGE BUNDY. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1948. Pp. xxii, 698. $5.00.)

A happy collaboration has provided all students of government with a valuable and unique memoir of public service. In the last twenty-five years, there are scarcely a handful of personal reminiscences of public life which have the same enduring worth as this. And Stimson's career was spent exclusively in administrative positions; the only elective office he ever held was that of delegate to the New York State constitutional convention of 1915.

Stimson epitomized the kind of person rare in American public life: the "good and solid" citizen of personal wealth who brought intelligence, integrity, and at the same time courage and an understanding heart to the jobs he held. Appointed U.S. district attorney in New York in 1906, Mr. Stimson was vigorous in his prosecution of business violations of federal laws. As Secretary of War from 1911 to 1913, he confronted an Army officer who ever since the passage of Secretary Root's famous General Staff Act of 1903 had defied Chiefs of Staff and Secretaries. When this officer submitted a grossly insulting memorandum, Mr. Stimson directed his court martial. General Ainsworth asked to be retired rather than face trial, and the general staff system was saved. Stimson obtained President Taft's support likewise against a legislative maneuver to prevent General Wood from serving as Chief of Staff. These early skirmishes forecast the temper of the man who was to be Secretary of State while World War II was hatched and Secretary of War while it was fought.

The present volume is written in the third person by Mr. Bundy, son of a long-time associate of Mr. Stimson. To him must go credit for faithful presentation of an "elder statesman's" sagacity and honesty, expressed in a readable and at times even inspired manner. But it is Mr. Stimson's character which always stands out. He was a man who could admit he was wrong—about the TVA (p. 43) and about Harding and the Republican party's position on the League of Nations in 1920 (p. 106). He was a man who as governor-general of the Philippines early made it clear that he by no means thought all wisdom resided in him and not in the Filipino department heads. He was a man who could disagree on foreign policy with President Hoover and then faithfully endeavor to translate the Chief Executive's wish into action. A life-long Republican, he was not a Roosevelt-hater. Indeed, his letter to Mrs. Roosevelt on April 16, 1945, and his two other appreciations of the President (pp. 665–667), will no doubt long stand as a fair and reasonable evaluation.

The first quarter of the book deals with the early and formative years of Stimson's public career. The second quarter covers the four years as Secretary of State from 1929 to 1933. The final half concerns the years as Secretary of War from 1940 to 1945. There are too many incidents and observations of great interest to mention any adequately.

To some, no doubt, the revelation of the deep-seated disagreements between Stimson and Hoover from 1931 to 1933 will be somewhat surprising. Yet Stimson realized that as President Mr. Hoover probably more accurately reflected the provincialism of America than did his own world outlook. When America paid the price of its world indifference, Mr. Stimson was called to head the War Department. Politics dictated the choice; administrative capacity demonstrated its real appropriateness, even though Stimson was seventy-three in 1940. Again in 1941 Mr. Stimson felt that a president was not moving quite decisively or positively enough. Pearl Harbor brought the war for which Stimson was already psychologically prepared.

Military defeat, Army reorganization, grand strategy, the Negro in the Army, scientific research, manpower, the troubles with WPB, disagreements with the Navy on anti-submarine warfare, Stilwell in China, military government, the Morgenthau plan—these were the big issues for the Secretary of War. The events of 1942 to 1945 have been so well reported that Stimson has little to add to the story. His restrained telling of the events and his ever-suggestive evaluation are the real contributions.

Since the arguments about the Morgenthau plan are so well known, it may be more useful here to note Mr. Stimson's observations about the relations between the Army and the Navy as illustrating his qualities. The Army had an even greater interest in the outcome of the anti-submarine campaign in the Atlantic than the Navy. The eventual invasion of the Continent from England depended upon uninterrupted supply communication with that base. The Secretary was convinced that the long-range shore-based airplane guided by radar could contribute substantially to the elimination of the submarine menace. Navy opinion, on the other hand, as expressed by Admiral King, favored escort as the "only way" promising success. Accordingly, aircraft were not supposed to seek out submarines separately, but simply to join in escort operations. This controversy was complicated by disagreement over organizational arrangements. The Army wanted flexible organization which could transfer planes from one part of the coast to another. The Navy insisted upon its sea frontiers, and its relatively inflexible assignment of aircraft. In the end, the impasse was settled only by the Army turning over the entire responsibility for anti-submarine air activity to the Navy. From this experience, Stimson concluded that the scientists had done more than many Navy and Air officers in devising means to combat the submarine, that unified command for any military objective was essential, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff was an imperfect instrument of top level decision, and that the traditional mistrust of the two services could and did have destructive effects. It was out of such experience as this that came Stimson's support for unification of the Armed Forces.

From these and similar details emerges a living portrait of the Department head at work in our system of government—what he does and how he does it. Mr. Stimson and his able assistant have left us with a long-term debt of appreciation.

JOHN D. MILLETT.

Columbia University.

International Law. BY CHARLES G. FENWICK. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc. Third edition. 1948. Pp. l, 744. $5.00.)

The author of this work needs no introduction. Nor does the work, of which the first edition appeared in 1924 and the second in 1934. The book has been largely "rewritten line for line" and the illustrative material brought up-to-date. However, as the author points out, "the new material . . . has been fitted into the framework of the earlier editions, so as to facilitate the transition from one edition to another for teachers who have found the earlier edition useful." Reflecting the author's preoccupation during the past few years, writings of Latin American jurists and resolutions and declarations of inter-American Conferences occupy a prominent place among the new materials.

The arrangement of the earlier edition has been substantially maintained. Some changes may be noted. The number of main parts has been reduced from five to four by combining the former Part IV, "International Procedure for the Settlement of Conflicts of Claims," and the former Part V, "Procedure by Self-help for the Settlement of Claims," into one part which now bears the title "International Procedure for the Settlement of Conflicts of Claims." The chapter on the League of Nations is superseded by one on the United Nations. Several topics such as Specialized International Organizations and Regional Groups, Recognition, Responsibility of States, Jurisdictional Obligations towards Other States, are now discussed under separate chapters. One wonders in this connection why the inter-American regional system has not been raised to the dignity of a chapter. The first two parts, dealing respectively with the nature of international law and the organization of the community of nations, have been preserved and somewhat extended.

From a methodological point of view, the classification of international law into a substantive and a procedural part may not be without merit, although difficult to carry through consistently. The author discusses treaties and agents of international intercourse as part of "the substantive rules of international law." On the other hand, substantive rules of the international law of war are included under "forcible procedure by war." Perhaps even more open to objection is the above-mentioned combination of the peaceful procedures for the settlement of conflicts of claims with the "procedure by self-help for the enforcement of claims" into "international procedure for the settlement of conflict of claims." It may, of course, be possible to regard war as a "procedure" for the settlement of claims, but it seems doubtful whether the traditional position of war in international law and relations can be exhaustively or even sufficiently characterized in this manner. In this context, it may be mentioned that the subject of the "international responsibility of the state for the protection of resident aliens," which offers substantive as well as important procedural aspects, is treated entirely in the substantive part of the book. The space—altogether some thirty pages—devoted to the pacific settlement of disputes, including the International Court of Justice, appears somewhat inadequate, in view of the growing importance of these procedures.

While there is no room to enter upon an analysis of the author's exposition of the whole field of international law, it may be noted that, having abandoned the consensual theory in the second edition, he now appears to be leaning towards a sociological explanation of the binding force of international law: " . . . international law may be said to be based upon the very necessity for its existence, upon the very human beings in constant touch with one another under the conditions of the present day." Discussing the relationship between international law and municipal law, the author declares himself strongly in favor of the primacy of international law; for "unless this general principle is accepted, international law would have no meaning." However, he puts forward some bold propositions which are designed to resolve possible conflicts between norms of international law and domestic law.

Readers of the book will be pleased to note that the "list of works referred to" has been considerably enlarged and to find among the appendices the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, the Altantic Charter as well as the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, in addition to several articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. There is every reason to expect that this new edition will receive the same warm welcome that was accorded to the earlier editions of the book, and thus contribute to a better and wider appreciation of the rôle of international law in the family of nations.

LEO GROSS.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Lehrbuch des Voelkerrechts. BY PAUL GUGGENHEIM (Basel: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft. 1948. Pp. xxxix, 508.)

Does international law constitute a genuine legal "system," comparable in its structure to the systems of municipal law? Judging from the traditional treatises on international law, with their jumbled and often uncoördinated "principles" and rules, one would be inclined to doubt it. On the other hand, Kelsen and some others maintain that international law forms a coherent body of law, in which, as in any municipal law, legal norms define subjects of rights and duties, "impute" to these subjects violations of legal obligations, and determine the sanctions ensuing from such violations. To the knowledge of this reviewer, no attempt had been made to write an over-all treatise on international law on the basis of such a theoretical assumption until Guggenheim, in doing just that, won credit for a pioneering undertaking.

The book is noteworthy as one of the first comprehensive treatises in the field to come out of postwar Europe, and is a worthy successor to the long series of similar texts on the part of earlier European scholars. The author being Swiss, he has availed himself of an opportunity to refer to, and use, Swiss practice widely, thus presenting important source material not easily accessible elsewhere. Having gone through the school of the Italian "positivists," the author can be relied upon to treat thoroughly all important fields of international law, including such recent phases as the international prosecution of war crimes and the problem of the present international legal status of Germany. Finally, the author being a follower of the "pure theory of law," he has arranged the material according to the systematic requirements of that theory, with chapter headings such as "Temporal Validity of the Norms of International Law," "Spatial Validity" of Such Norms, "Illegal Action" in International Law, "Constatation of the Illegal Act," and "Sanctions of International Law."

In many instances, this promotes clarity; but it also reveals the limits of "legalism" in the study of international relations (this field, characteristically enough, is defined as "sociology of international law"; is not international law, rather, a mere reflex of certain phases of international relations?). In such a system, for instance, war, i.e., the use of force on the part of the "subjects of international law," must either be interpreted as illegal violence, as ensuing sanctions, or as legitimate self-defense or legal sanction itself. The facts of international politics refuse to fit this interpretative pattern; the pattern becomes fictional. It is true that the problem of the intra-systematic position of force is taken up only incidentally in the present volume, which, dealing with *jus pacis*, leaves its more detailed treatment to a second volume, *de jure belli*. But similar doubts are raised in connection with problems such as the relation between international and municipal law, where the "primacy of international law" is claimed to be the only logical theoretical construction, or in connection with Guggenheim's discussion of recognition. Fortunately, the author is sufficiently a positivist of the "good old school" to keep such incongruities in the background. While the basic theoretical problems thus raised are not settled, the result is none the less one of the most readable volumes on modern international law. With its systematic approach, it is a valuable companion-piece for any case-book treatment of the field.

JOHN H. HERZ.

Howard University.

International Politics; The Destiny of the Western State System. BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN. Fourth edition. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1948. Pp. xvii, 1025. $5.50.)

The study of international relations as a separate subject in our American colleges and universities is comparatively recent.[1] It was largely a product of the first World War—a struggle which had a revolutionary and permanent effect on the interests and thinking of young people in our educational institutions. This was reflected in a great increase in the amount of formal instruction,[2] and a consequent demand for teaching tools, particularly single books providing an introduction to, or a general survey of, the field.

Frederick L. Schuman's *International Politics*, first published in 1933, was one of the early attempts to meet this need. It sought to combine the topical and historical approaches, but its chief distinction was that it tried to place the hard facts of life and man's aspirations for a better world in a more realistic relationship to each other. To use words later given currency by E. H. Carr, Schuman emphasized "reality" without losing sight of the importance of "utopia." Furthermore (and this was no mean achievement), *International Politics* was extremely readable and thought-provoking, as a host of American students who have made use of it will testify.

Since the first edition, three new editions have appeared. The second, published in 1937, followed the first closely in organization and treatment. Though not resisting the temptation to prophesy, and making no effort to conceal his convictions, Schuman retained the spirit and method of objective analysis. The third edition (1941), though completed before the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union and the American entrance into World War II, was nevertheless written in an atmosphere less conducive to objectivity. The author's emphasis was less on long-range factors and

[1] See Grayson L. Kirk, *The Study of International Relations in American Colleges and Universities* (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., 1947).

[2] See Edith E. Ware [ed.], *The Study of International Relations in the United States; Survey for 1937* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938).

forces, and more on the urgency of understanding the causes of the current disaster and of redefining men's faith. Much space was devoted to the narration and explanation of recent events.

The fourth edition is "a new version," though the pattern of organization is much the same as in the third, and some of the chapters remain substantially unaltered. Chapter headings are, generally speaking, much more colorful and dramatic. A "Prologue" of twenty-three pages has been introduced to give the story of man "from the first heat of atomic disintegration" through "slimy granular jelly" to the first literate cultures of mankind. A concluding chapter on "The Problem of the Twentieth Century" deals with the threat of man's impending return to his starting point, and holds out no great hope that this fate can be avoided.

The relative amount of space devoted to the narrative of events, chiefly recent, has been greatly increased. To a considerable extent, this has been at the expense of the kind of systematic analysis of basic forces and factors which was a particular merit of the first and second editions. The fourth edition, like its predecessors, is an extremely readable book, likely to command the interest and attention of the student. It is not likely, however, to create much confidence in the efficacy of human effort. Though man's capacity for constructive achievement is not denied, the only suggestion that the author has for man's salvation which takes account of his cultural inheritance and ethical values, i.e. world government, is so completely unrealistic today that by his logic one is driven to the conclusion that there is no alternative to disaster.

Schuman's major and laudable concern is with the masses of humanity everywhere. In place of a political system which would afford the opportunity for man's promise to be realized, he sees Western mankind in the twentieth century subjected to a state system which stresses power and profit, and is manipulated by industrialists, bankers, generals, and the like for their own selfish advantage. While Schuman comes close to accepting the Marxist interpretation of history, he refuses to recognize the Soviet Union as the knight in shining armor among the nations of the world, and professes to regard the possibility of a Soviet organized world as no more likely or attractive than a world united by the power of a capitalist U.S.A. Nevertheless, in his references to the United States and the other Western democracies and to the Soviet Union, and to events in which they have been involved, he indicates a definitely prejudiced attitude. It is an attitude more appropriate to political agitation and special pleading than to a textbook in international relations. It manifests itself not so much in misstatements of fact as in the choice of facts, the conclusions that are drawn on the basis of selected facts, and the inferences that are encouraged.

Space permits only a few examples—from many—of this prejudiced treatment. In speaking of the Foreign Service of the United States (pp. 204–5), Schuman refers to racial and religious discrimination and the restriction of top positions to men of wealth (both arguable points), but makes no mention of the influx in recent years of young men of ability and limited means, made possible by better salaries and improved methods of recruitment. In his comments on methods of applying "the strategy of fear" (pp. 391–405), there is little reference to Communist practice beyond such cryptic statements as "In the U.S.S.R., public dissent from current government policies is, of course, not tolerated" (p. 393), and "Communists also lie when it serves their purposes" (p. 395). His explanation of Soviet rejection of the proposed four-power pact to keep Germany disarmed by the statement "Past experience with such documents evoked no enthusiasm in Moscow" (p. 726) is obviously intended to put the Soviet Union in a more favorable light than a more complete explanation would permit. Schuman's description of the U.S.A.'s "New Look" under Truman (pp. 805–7) is highly prejudiced and misleading, and seems difficult to harmonize with the results of the recent election and Wall Street's reaction thereto. His account of the growing rift between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. (pp. 817–23) almost completely ignores the possibility of any Soviet responsibility. His thesis of Byrnes-Bevin culpability appears to be largely based on the statement, shown to be without foundation by the Hopkins papers, that Roosevelt agreed at Yalta to a delimitation of spheres of influence in Europe.

Two questions of fundamental importance are raised by this book, both relating to its general tone and approach. In such a book, intended as an introduction to the study of international relations, is it right to present and interpret the facts within such a restrictive frame of reference that of two possible alternatives one is ruled out by present and foreseeable realities, and the other involves the more or less helpless acceptance of impending disaster? To what extent is it justifiable for the author of such a book to color and slant his presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the facts of international relations with his own personal preconceptions and biases, without at the same time presenting with some completeness and objectivity other views and interpretations?

Schuman argues that truth is to be arrived at "only by free and informed debate," that "objectivity" is not to be attained simply "by avoiding verdicts" or "shunning expressions of preference," that it consists rather "of interpreting facts within a frame of reference broader than the facts themselves." This seems reasonable enough as stated. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that in most courses in which this book will normally be used, either for lack of time or of inclination or perhaps even of adequate library facilities, the student will not complete the factual picture or acquaint himself with conclusions based on other frames of reference. We all know from teaching experience how important a factor in an introductory course the basic text is, particularly one that is highly readable and seems to have all the answers. One cannot in that situation depend with too much confidence on supplementary readings, lectures, and class-room discussions for achieving the balanced view. For students with some background in history, political science, and economics, and considerable maturity of thought, Schuman's book is an intellectual challenge. For beginners, without adequate means of correcting its distortions, it is an unsuitable, even dangerous, book to use.

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The Most-Favored-Nation Clause. BY RICHARD CARLTON SNYDER. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 264. $2.75.)

This monograph is devoted entirely to those agreements under which a nation may bind itself to grant to another nation tariff terms (and other commercial privileges and immunities) at least no worse than it grants to any other country: the "most-favored-nation clause." The clause has this generally-accepted meaning, despite the variety of interpretations surrounding it and notwithstanding the lack of fixed formulae or wordings. Students of international relations and trade have been aware of the importance, and of some of the implications, of such treaties both to economic and to broader political relationships among governments. The present study is most valuable as a careful and well-documented reference work on a somewhat technical subject. But Professor Snyder makes evident also that this form of agreement has connotations for a complex of factors in international politics.

Although the author does not intend this as an historical account, the book combines analysis of wide variations in the actual employment of the clause with a rather adroit recording of the development of viewpoints and theories concerning them and the factors responsible for their origin and continued use. Recent treaty practices regarding tariffs are, however, emphasized; and they clearly illustrate one of the distinctive attributes of the post-1919 era—a hypersensitive national mania for autonomy of action. This is true despite the fact that trade barriers are one of the subjects of state concern least susceptible to exclusively domestic determination.

Subjects other than tariffs which have been embraced by most-favored-nation agreements are not disregarded, although treated somewhat incidently. The twelve chapters include discussions of the nature of this type of agreement; the origins and development of the most-favored-nation clause; its scope, interpretations, and meaning; modern definitions, classifications, and analysis; direct and indirect limitations on most-favored-nation treatment; various exceptions to the clause; evaluation, criticism, summary, and conclusions. The study, being based on this type of agreement as expressed in treaty provisions, concentrates to a large extent on legal aspects.

The discussion ends with the outbreak of the last war, the author explaining that it is too early to analyze developments in most-favored-nation clauses during the past few years. He does suggest, though, that three alternative future developments seem possible in the light of the recent onslaught of economic and political change. These are: first, abandonment of the principle in favor of the principle of bilateral bargaining; second, application of the clause to quotas, exchange controls, etc; third (if the world economy returns to prewar practices), restoration as the basis of commercial policy.

The nature of the subject and the full table of contents make the lack of an index only a minor criticism; and the bibliography is probably the best compiled on the subject. (French treatises are numerous). The book is made up in photo-offset lithography by King's Crown Press, a division of Columbia University Press organized for the purpose of making certain scholarly material available at minimum cost. The manuscript contains much of the academic paraphernalia associated with a Ph.D. thesis; it is hard going at times. Professor Snyder, however, while modest in his pretensions in giving us what he calls an introductory analysis, has certainly written one of the most complete and up-to-date discussions of this subject.

J. WILLIAM ROBINSON.

Whittier College.

The Pattern of Imperialism; A Study in the Theories of Power. BY E. M. WINSLOW. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 278. $3.75.)

Dr. Winslow has written a scholarly and penetrating critique of the various theories that have dominated most modern historians, political scientists, and economists, consciously or unconsciously. The first four chapters of his volume point out the differences between imperialism and nationalism; the manner in which the ancient and medieval unselfconscious acceptance of imperialism gave way in Western Europe to a self-conscious justification; the triumph in democratic circles of both a condemnatory judgment on imperialism and an economic interpretation of its causes and nature; and the special circumstances that led the classical economists to identify imperialism with mercantilism, while the socialists and capitalistic reformers found in capitalism, or certain of its institutions, the source of imperialism and war.

The author then gives an interesting account of John A. Hobson, whose views on the maldistribution of income and the consequent over-saving and under-employment served as the basis for the extremely influential theory that the great capitalists, notably the great banking houses, seek foreign markets and investments as outlets for the goods and capital they cannot sell or use at home. But Hobson, like J. M. Keynes, did not believe in the inevitability of imperialism or of prolonged depressions. Each saw in a reformed capitalism the possibility of peace and prosperity, although they differed in the details of their diagnoses and remedies.

In sharp contrast to these "bourgeois" reformers, the socialists and communists advanced far more drastic criticism of both imperialism and capitalism, based on elaborate theories that were sometimes contradictory, but always predicated a removal of the evils of both with the arrival of socialism. Karl Marx, strangely enough, never developed a theory of modern imperialism for mature capitalism. He concentrated his attention on colonization as a transitional stage in the transformation of European society from feudalism to capitalism. His failure to present a rounded theory of foreign trade and capitalist development resulted in his holding two conflicting views at the same time: (1) the falling rate of profit makes foreign countries important to the capitalist economy as sources of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs; and (2) under-consumption renders foreign markets for exports essential as a means of disposing of goods for which no market can be found at home. Dr. Winslow demonstrates what will be to many a startling thesis about Marx, namely, that the latter, in trying to work out a theory of effective demand, discovered the possibility that the capitalist system might avoid the necessity of breakdown and imperialist activity by finding and maintaining the correct proportionality in income and outlay between the producers in the capital goods industries and those in the consumer goods industries. Unfortunately, in the opinion of the author, Marx failed to realize that equilibrium can be attained in production without socialization of the means of production, if reliance is placed instead on the control or socialization of the monetary-credit system.

The development of full-fledged theories of capitalist imperialism was achieved by the neo-Marxists. Rudolph Hilferding argued that imperialism is a policy of capitalism due to the dominance of the great banking houses over industry and their desire to export capital in order to reap higher profits than possible at home. Rosa Luxemburg maintained, on the other hand, that this revisionist doctrine was in error and that imperialism was inevitable because capitalists had to dispose of the surpluses they had accumulated. Lenin and Karl Kautsky are not important as original theorists on this question, despite their politically influential writings.

In the last two chapters, Dr. Winslow contends that the need for a type of control consistent with free enterprise can be met by a social control of money and banking, e.g., 100 per cent bank reserves and centralized control of credit creation. Such a constructive approach will prevent or lessen the economic instability that fosters monopoly, protectionism, and imperialism. He distinguishes between economic power and "naked power," economic and non-economic competition, imperialism based on the power drives of the old militaristic aristocracies and the "Volksimperialismus" expressing the aggressiveness of national groups. The solution to the problem of war and imperialism, as he sees it, is not the creation of a world super-government, but the adoption of Gandhi's political technique of non-violent resistance as the best means of attaining independence for the subjugated peoples, world peace for the independent nation-states, and democracy for all groups (pp. 237–55).

Dr. Winslow's proposal for ending war seems the least defensible part of his work. He posits a limit to human ruthlessness and a sensitivity that one can gamble on in dealing with some groups, but not with the Nazis, Japanese, or the U.S.S.R. Some of the author's historical generalizations in the early chapters need qualification, *e.g.*, on ancient and medieval attitudes toward imperialism. He falls into error (p. 187) in attributing to Lenin a criticism of Trotsky that was inserted into a 1933 edition of Lenin's *Imperialism* by a Stalinist editor and is not to be found in the original edition. Excellent as is Dr. Winslow's discussion of the relevant phases of Marxism, many will need the additional light on the background that is supplied by such studies as Abram L. Harris, "The Social Philosophy of Karl Marx," *Ethics* (April, 1948), and Joan Robinson, *An Essay on Marxian Economics.* It is regrettable that the volume could not have been extended to cover the recent variations on the theme of imperialism introduced by the Facists, Nazis, and Communists. Though the book is sometimes not lucid in presentation, it is, on the whole, a solid and valuable contribution that disposes of many widespread errors on an important subject.

SIDNEY RATNER.

Rutgers University.

From Many One. BY CRANE BRINTON (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 126. $2.25.)

The Calculated Risk. BY HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 68. $1.50.)

The failure of the United Nations to provide peace and security has stimulated widespread faith in world government as the only alternative to chaos and destruction. Among those who reject this line of thought is Professor Crane Brinton. In his little book, *From Many One*, Mr. Brinton chides the "enthusiasts for world federation" for failure to study the process and methods of political integration whereby many independent states in the past have been incorporated into larger single units, thereby extending the areas in which governments have been able to maintain peace. It is to this task that he addresses himself in this book, examining particularly two examples of such integration, those of the Roman Empire and of the French state. His findings may be summarized briefly: (1) in the five thousand years of recorded history, Western man has kept peace within an area for any considerable time only by bringing that area within the authority of a single government; (2) the extension of such authority more frequently has been accomplished by imperialism than by federation, but "successfully integrated states have almost always proved in practice to rest on a mixture of force and consent, of imperialism and federalism" (3) successfully integrated "international or supranational states" possess certain uniform characteristics, including a symbolic head of state, an administrative élite, "at least some loyalty on the part of the masses who live under its authority," "some degree of local autonomy," and "an absence of groups, and especially of groups within a territorial framework, which feel that the existence of the integrated state is incompatible with their own existence" (he cites Ireland and Poland as cases where integration with a larger unit failed for lack of this condition); and (4) "the process of political integration has almost invariably been a slow one."

Mr. Brinton therefore concludes that there is no precedent for the immediate success of world government, that there will be another general war, and that the human race will survive that war. He argues, therefore, that we should not be misled by world government "perfectionists," but should stick to the longer but surer road of slow integration toward a larger unity.

The author's philosophical optimism may help to quiet the nerves of those who fear for the survival of man, but he offers no practical guidance for the present crisis in great power relations. Such guidance is found in Hamilton Fish Armstrong's *The Calculated Risk*. Mr. Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs* and adviser to Washington officialdom, starts from the proposition that the successful operation of the United Nations has been frustrated by the actions of the Soviet Union in the Security Council, Military Staff Committee, Atomic Energy Commission, and other agencies of the organization. Like Mr. Brinton, he does not seek a way out through the substitution of a higher order of world government; rather he proposes a solution within the provisions of the present Charter. He suggests that since the present enforcement provisions are not operating successfully, the United States should join with like-minded members of the United Nations in providing other means of enforcing the purposes and principles of the Charter. He finds authority for such action in Article 51, which expressly reserves to members the right of individual and collective self-defense in the event of armed attack. Specifically, he proposes that a group of United Nations members enter into an agreement, or protocol, binding themselves to resist armed attack whenever two-thirds of the signatories decide that collective action is called for under the Charter, or whenever the Security Council fails to act. In the October, 1948, issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Armstrong spells out in more detail the terms of the protocol, including the provisions for enforcement action. He admits that there are risks in his proposal, but declares that they are far less than the risks of non-action. In a certain sense, Mr. Armstrong provides a pattern for the sort of integration which Mr. Brinton believes gives man relatively long and stable periods of peace—the most that we dare hope for.

JOHN W. MASLAND.

Dartmouth College.

The West at Bay. BY BARBARA WARD. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1948. Pp. vii, 288. $3.50.)

Toward World Peace. BY HENRY A. WALLACE. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1948. Pp. 121. $1.75.)

Here are two thoughtful books. At some points, they can be compared and contrasted. For the most part, however, they go their separate ways, Miss Ward focussing on the Marshall Plan in relation to a Western European Union, Mr. Wallace opening his lens on the wide world and the relation of the United States thereto.

Barbara Ward, youthful, brilliant, level-headed foreign editor of the London *Economist*, writes with that penetration and lucidity which made Norman Angell's *Great Illusion* and *Fruits of Victory* and J. M. Keynes' *Economic Consequences of the Peace* such profitable reading in their day. As one reads, the wonder grows how one so young (she is only 34) can be so wise. Part of the secret lies in her expert use of the matrix of history. In several deft chapters, Miss Ward recounts the causes which in her judgment have led to the present imbalance between what Europe needs and what Europe can produce. Europe has lost its old nineteenth-century industrial and mercantile supremacy; America has gained it (and with it much of the British mid-nineteenth century trade philosophy!); Eastern Europe has passed under Communist control; the Far East has revolted against the old imperialism. Each of these "represents the disappearance of one pillar of the nineteenth-century order. Taken together, they write the epitaph of a vanished world" (p. 20).

Recognizing the effects of the two world wars, Miss Ward eschews any "cult of normalcy": soon all will not be all right with Western Europe. Western Europe, even with the Marshall Plan, will find it necessary to dig deep into its economic and political foundations to reconstitute its order. The "dollar shortage," as a shorthand way of describing the disequilibrium between what Europe needs and what it can produce, will continue after 1951 until the productive forces of the sixteen nations are so rationalized and organized that a proper balance can be struck. From this point of view, the Marshall Plan is a "pump priming" device, though of colossal significance. If it works—if the appropriate changes are made in the economic order of Western Europe, if sufficient sovereignty is surrendered by the sixteen nations to permit over-all direction of effort, and if the United States will *buy* after 1951 sufficient to offset the expected continuance of a several billion dollar annual differential between European imports and exports (p. 252)—then there appears to be a good chance for a revived democratic Western Europe, taking its place in and making its contribution to healthy world order and security for the United States. Miss Ward has no illusions about the difficulties involved in this necessary transformation of Western Europe. Every page is replete with subtle analysis of the complexities involved. She understands America; she is fair in her criticism of some of our policies and prejudices. Forthrightly, she posits what she believes her own government and the other fifteen will have to do before the "pump priming" ends. She suggests means to achieve the goals, again using her history to persuasive advantage.

Mr. Wallace's little book, a campaign document, restates many of his present articles of faith. "Neither the Truman doctrine nor the E. R. P. will" preserve democracy in Western Europe. "Nor will isolationism. We must make a fresh start based on the needs of all the people of the world" (p. 4). For the Marshall Plan he would substitute a huge UN Reconstruction Fund, applied without the alleged anti-Soviet animus of the E.R.P. (p. 38). Through ECOSOC and the Food and Agricultural Organization, he would launch a world-wide program of encouragement of public works projects to spark revival and progress.

No honest liberal can read Mr. Wallace's views on Russia, some aspects of American foreign policy, "reactionary capitalism," "progressive capitalism," civil rights, the NAM, "American imperialism 'á la Luce'," and so forth without nodding at every other paragraph in vigorous assent. The trouble comes with the alternate paragraphs, particularly those dealing with the remedies: too often they cancel out the preceding ones or are simply non sequiturs.

A few notable things Miss Ward and Mr. Wallace have in common: profound religious faith in the common man (Wallace, p. 109; Ward, Chap. 29); intense sincerity; tremendous courage; determination to see our present crisis through.

HENRY REIFF.

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Learning and World Peace. EDITED BY LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, AND R. M. MACIVER. (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. Distributed by Harper and Brothers, New York and London. 1948. Pp. xix, 694. $6.50.)

This volume includes the papers presented at the eighth conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion. They are directed to the general question of how scholarship can contribute to the relief of international tensions. One of the best contributions is the first, by Herman Finer, who discusses the definition of tension, its degrees, parties, infusions, and possible therapy—persuasion and force. Quincy Wright, in his "Measurement of Variations in International Tensions," also analyzes tensions and intergroup distances, but gives more attention to the causes of social tension—inconsistencies between public opinion and contemporary conditions and private attitudes, as well as inconsistencies within public opinion itself. He also maintains that the elements of social tension, social energy, and social structure may be related as are the three electrical elements of current, potential, and resistance. Donald Stone, of the Bureau of the Budget, makes a plea for ethical standards as a basis of policy, citing the moral foundations of democracy in the United States and in the United Nations.

Louis Wirth analyzes the problem of the discovery and dissemination of knowledge about tensions, and its translation into programs of action. Another sociologist, Robert C. Angell, approaches the problem via research on the integration of cities. Robert H. Lowie gives an interesting anthropological view of "Parochialism and Historical Instruction. "

The natural sciences are under-represented and are not too helpful. Stuart Mudd, a bacteriologist, concludes that conditions for human happiness are discoverable by scientific methods. Harry B. Friedgood, M.D., wants to educate the educators, in order that pre-kindergarten children may be exposed "to a minimum of psychic traumata and a maximum of security." Robert W. King, a physicist, writes down "essentially to zero the significance of the scientists' conscience." His conclusion is that peace requires a world police force.

If science is under-represented, philosophy and religion appear over-represented. Not merely that—the difference of opinion, as between Christians, Jews, and Hindus, for example, gives little hope to the layman. Many of the philosophical contributions give the impression of a closed meeting of a learned society in which everyone is out to impress the others. They are far more erudite than helpful. In fact, they are almost as bad as some of their titles—"Science and Brotherly Love," "Philosophia—Philanthropia," "Poise and Passion in Philosophy."

In Appendix III, Thomas K. Finletter tries to meet the question by suggesting bringing in the "practical man," whose empirical knowledge can sharpen up the scholar's generalities. Harlow Shapley makes a plea for getting scholars down off their respective academic steeples so they can talk sensibly to other educated people. His conclusions lead him to a plea for "general education." Worthwhile as this is, it could better have led him to a discussion of what scholars can now do to educate the adult public.

Most of the papers give passing recognition to the atomic bomb, but almost all were written in a pre-atomic frame of mind. One may be pardoned for wondering whether the problem of world peace will wait for the present college underclassmen or the pre-kindergarten children, or making over the human race ethically, religiously, or psychologically. If these papers are the best that scholars have to offer world peace, many of them would not receive a passing grade. One cannot help wondering whether political scientists sound as ineffectual to other disciplines as some other disciplines sound to one political scientist.

WILBUR W. WHITE.

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Japan Diary. BY MARK GAYN. (New York: William Sloan Associates, Inc. 1948. Pp. x, 517. $4.00.)

Mark Gayn's account of the early stages of the American occupation of Japan stands as the most penetrating and most accurate analysis of that great experiment yet published in book form. One factor which makes this book by an experienced Far Eastern correspondent so valuable is his insistence on augmenting his Tokyo observations with extensive travel and study in the remote prefectures of Japan. Indeed, his proclivity for interviewing the "wrong" people and for revealing startling and unwelcome facts must have made him *persona non grata* to occupation officials. He tells of more than one instance when orders were sent through channels directing prefectural military government officials to refuse him information. He does not hesitate to criticize key officials and call them by name. Yet there is no tone of smoldering resentment or antagonism toward occupation authorities; his treatment is marked by restraint, understanding, and a judicious temper.

It is remarkable that in the casual, informal style of a diary, Gayn has touched on most of the significant problems of the occupation—some of which have been missed by professional scholars writing in more formal studies. Many of the problems he raises defy solution; for this experiment in Japan is an overwhelming experience. But the solution to others appears so simple that we can be justly disturbed that such problems still exist. The account of the Tokyo colonel who protected Japanese militarists running for public office by refusing to release to the public information concerning their past conduct is a serious indictment of our efforts to establish a free and open election process. Should such discretionary power be given to an official who professes no regard for the voting public and who, in middle age, boasts that he has never voted in his life? This is but part of a larger problem of many aspects. As Gayn indicates, one of the major tragedies has been the selection of small minds for positions of tremendous responsibility. There is not only incompetence, but a lack of sympathy for democratic procedures. This might not be so grave if it were not aggravated by the broad range of discretion given officials (the "Bataan boys") at MacArthur's headquarters. For the range of discretion is broader than any similar allocation of power in civilian government, and is sufficient to make or break any occupation policy. The broader consideration is that we have not yet developed a suitable mechanism for civilian popular control of the *administration* of our occupation policies. So long as military government is narrowly conceived as a military operation rather than an integral aspect of foreign policy, it will remain as far removed from popular control as wartime military operations are. The fact that the Far Eastern Commission and the State Department are civilian organizations somewhat more reflective of popular mandate hardly mitigates this condition, since these agencies have thus far made only broad outlines of policy, leaving much to administrative discretion. To some extent, our policy to permit the organization of unions was sabotaged by anti-union sentiment of officials implementing the policy.

Gayn tells of American intervention in support of the Shidehara cabinet. Our policy in Japan has been to use the existing government rather than support it. In applying the policy, we have indeed supported the status quo and have discriminated against indigenous elements of reform. We have justified such action in the name of peace and order. But we have permitted disorderly demonstrations by conservative political groups, and have broken up orderly demonstrations by groups we have deemed to be radical. Again, this is not so much a matter of Tokyo policy as it is the application of discretion by field commanders. The greater part of Americans in Japan feel closer to their Japanese counterparts, the business and industrial classes which are the bulwark of conservatism, than to the less dignified reform elements.

The paradox of American support of the despotic police system during the first three months of the occupation is explained with some understanding. Although regrettable, our action was probably inevitable and was prompted largely by the disorderly and criminal conduct of the newly liberated Koreans in Japan who took the law in their own hands. While Gayn's portrayal of the desire of the average American official to retain the police system is perhaps accurate, it is an expectation which fortunately never matured. The Police Law which went into effect March 7, 1948, circumscribes police authority and decentralizes the structure. In this respect, the book is dated; for many changes in Japanese government have been initiated since May 3, 1947—the date line of Gayn's last entry in Japan.

The story of how the 1946 constitution was written by special teams in MacArthur's Government Section and then thrust into the hands of Matsumoto, Yoshida, and Shirasu with orders to read it in fifteen minutes is revealing. But this is not typical of the entire occupation process, which in the last two years can be characterized more by non-coercive, advisory, consultative techniques than by the strident military force which the story of the constitution suggests.

If the citizens of the United States have become the government of Japan, they need not only facts but mechanisms of control over occupation policy. The comment of a military government official (p. 384) strikes an ominous note: "The American people are too dumb to understand what's going on here. We can't wait until they wake up to our problems. The army will tell the people what they ought to know." It is time, indeed, that the American people have more and better reporting on the realities rather than the appearances in the administration of the areas we occupy. Mark Gayn's book is typical of how honest, courageous, yet temperate, reporting can help fill the gap.

RALPH J. D. BRAIBANTI.

Syracuse University.

Concerning Town Planning. BY LE CORBUSIER. Translated by Clive Entwistle from the French *Propos d'Urbanisme.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. 127. $2.75.)

Town and Country Planning Law. BY JAMES KEKWICK. (London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd. 1948. Pp. xvii, 556. 45s.)

Both of these books have to do with town planning. In all other respects, they are as far apart as the poles.

The translator of the first volume explains the author as follows: "Le Corbusier is a French architect forming part of the Swiss, Charles Edouard Jeanneret. Le Corbusier is not a man, but an ideal. These two distinctions, upon which Le Corbusier himself insists, are essential to an understanding of his plastic and literary work and aims." To the practical-minded, this sounds a bit confusing.

In any case, Le Corbusier has long been a name to conjure with among architects and in city-planning circles. His work has been described as daring, original, intense, inventive, and vital, and the man himself in words that suggest grandness and simplicity, lightness and strength, lyricism and uncompromising fierceness in pursuit of his ideals. His writings over a number of years have put forth upon the world one startling idea after another, but in very few cases and only in recent years have his heresies been put into stone and steel and urban layout. "His greatest projects, town-planning schemes, remain on paper."

Concerning Town Planning is cast in the form of a series of answers to a questionnaire circulated in 1944 from England among Continental architects and writers. The questionnaire evidently was intended to elicit suggestions for the rebuilding of war-damaged cities. Each answer by

Le Corbusier is a separate little essay in terse, brilliant, and provocative language. The essays are illustrated by hastily-made and, in many cases, very crude but suggestive, line drawings of how future town-plans and buildings should look.

The effect on the reviewer was to arouse in him great respect for Le Corbusier's originality and incisiveness, and his unremitting warfare on stodgy conservatism in the planning of towns, and yet to leave him totally unconvinced as to the practicality of the new ideas proposed. Such factors as time, costs, and the wishes of the people, either as individuals or as groups, seem to mean nothing to Le Corbusier. All present-day suburban developments are anathema to him. Away with them! If a community is to increase by, say 5,000 inhabitants, simply erect one or a few giant buildings raised above the ground on pylons, in large open spaces. Why raised on pylons? For circulation—so that people can walk *under* them instead of around them! The "essential functions" are "living, working, cultivation of the mind, circulation," and the "essential joys" are "sun, space, and verdure." But what sun and verdure, or what pleasure in circulation or cultivation of the mind, one could get walking around under some super-apartment house raised on pylons, this benighted reviewer is simply unable to see.

James Kekwick's book is a down-to-earth treatise on English town-planning law of the present day. A fourteen-page introduction gives an all-too-brief history and summary of the town-planning legislation now in effect, while the rest of the substantial volume consists of the laws themselves, with numerous brief notes and explanations. American students will be particularly impressed by the sweeping character of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. The reader will find in this book almost nothing on the philosophical and esthetic aspects of town planning, but a great deal on such necessary subjects as development control, public acquisitions of land, development charges, grants-in-aid and related financial questions, and other matters of equally mundane character. These laws provide the legal framework within which English towns must do their planning and replanning. To what extent the usable ideas of a theoretical planner like Le Corbusier could be translated into practical projects under the law, it would require several more books to tell.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

University of Minnesota.

BRIEFER NOTICES

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government* (Harper, 1948, pp. xiv, 107, $2.00), Alexander Meiklejohn presents the argument previously advanced in lectures at four educational institutions. Writing as a teacher interpreting our commitment to self-government, he argues that the "freedom of speech" of the First Amendment is absolute, in contrast to the "liberty of speech" of the Fifth Amendment, which is subject to regulation. While the right under the Fifth Amendment is private, the guarantee of the First Amendment is for the public interest. It has as its primary purpose "that all the citizens shall . . . understand the issues which bear upon our common life" (pp. 88–89). Much of the argument is an attack upon Holmes' "clear and present danger" test. Holmes ignored the difference between the guarantees of the First and Fifth Amendments and allowed the political principle of free speech to be qualified as are private rights under the Fifth Amendment (pp. 39–40). Holmes' standard is "unfortunate" because it is broad enough to check any minority opinion which "involves clear and present danger to the public safety" (p. 49). The result is the same for the states; for the Supreme Court neglected the absolute language of the "privileges or immunities" clause and merged the political and private rights of speech in the qualified guarantee of "due process." To the reviewer, it appears unfortunate that Meiklejohn did not give more attention to the types of situations Holmes was discussing—obstruction to law, incitement to force, etc. Moreover, Meiklejohn admits that his argument leads to "a multitude of bewildering questions" (p. 92). Nevertheless, his appeal for clarity of "teaching" on the First Amendment challenges political scientists. They should study his argument.—EMMETTE S. REDFORD.

Edward S. Corwin's *The President: Office and Powers, 1787-1948* (New York University Press, 1948, pp. xvii, 552, $6.75), with its 373 arabic numbered pages of text and 148 pages of fine-print notes, constitutes a revision and expansion of a study of the presidency from the point of view of public law which was first published in 1940. (see review by James Hart in this REVIEW, Vol. 25, pp. 142–3). Among the new materials included in this edition are the following: the proposed constitutional amendment to restrict the eligibility of the president for reëlection; the change in the order of succession to the presidency in the event that both the president and vice-president have disappeared from the scene; President Truman's "loyalty order," which is here said to mark "the close of an epoch, the Age of Innocency of a democratic faith still untainted by European revolutionary nihilism and its mordant class hatreds" (p. 121); the immunity of executive personnel from congressional inquiry as to loyalty; presidential intervention in industrial disputes; presidential initiative in the field of foreign relations; the expanded rôle of the president as "commander-in-chief in time of war;" and finally, new materials throwing light on the exercise of the veto power and on relations between the president and Congress. In organization and method of treatment, the book follows closely the pattern of the first edition. It is still true of it, as stated by Lindsay Rogers in reviewing the first edition, that "although the volume is well made and the typography is attractive, it is extremely difficult to read." The difficulty seems to derive in part from the separation of the footnotes from the text, in part from the literary style, and in part from an authoritarian tone which tends initially to give to opinion the weight to which only facts may legitimately lay claim. Some distortions of terminological meanings still need correction, as, for example, the application to the Lincoln presidency of the term "dictatorship" which, particularly in view of the slime which it carries from recent attachment to dictators Hitler and Mussolini and others, tends to have for the reader completely erroneous connotations as far as Lincoln is concerned. In spite of such limitations as the book possesses, however, it remains the leading work on the American presidency in terms of an approach from the field of public law.—CARL BRENT SWISHER.

Eugene Lyons has written a readable account of the thirty-first American president under the title of *Our Unknown Ex-President; A Portrait of Herbert Hoover* (Doubleday and Co., 1948, pp. 337, $2.95). Hoover is presented as a modest man, eager to avoid publicity and raucous acclaim, yet always ready to sacrifice private gains for public service. Mr. Lyons makes much of the fact that Hoover's five years of service as head of the Commission for Relief in Belgium during World War I was without financial renumeration. Returning from Europe, Hoover was offered the post of Secretary of Commerce. Although his fortune was now depleted, he again chose public service despite the urging of Daniel Guggenheim that he accept the management of his vast mining and metallurgical empire at a minimum income for life of $500,000. The author presents a somewhat uncritical review of the program which Hoover, as Secretary of Commerce, inaugurated, including improved equipment and methods in railway transportation; more adequate use of water resources for cheap transportation, flood control, reclamation, and power; reduction of seasonal fluctuation in employment in construction; more uniform business documents and book-keeping procedures; government aid in developing pure and applied science toward labor-saving devices and practices; coöperative marketing and better terminal facilities for agriculture; and the protection of the public interest in aviation and radio by the establishment of the Civil Aëronautics Bureau and the Federal Communications Commission. The author offers a running account of the nomination of Hoover for president by the Republican party in 1928, of the presidential campaign of that year, and of four years of service in the White House. The biography fails to throw any new light on many important phases of Hoover's presidency, such as his sincere attempt to reach a coöperative understanding with President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt in the closing months of his administration. The biography is, indeed, a personal story of Hoover and in no sense a definitive analysis of his public service. The author uses somewhat loosely the term "legend," which he contends now obscures the real Hoover. The book has an inadequate bibliography and lacks an index. —MARY EARHART DILLON.

A portrait of a man of forthright views and virile actions stands within the framework of *The Making of An Insurgent; An Autobiography, 1882–1919: Fiorello H. LaGuardia* (J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948, pp. 222, $2.75). Intense interest in a positive character infuses this book and results from a perusal thereof, stimulated still more by the careful preparation by the sympathetic hand of M. R. Werner, who edited the volume for publication after the death of the Little Flower. Never is the reader in doubt as to the position of the subject of this autobiography. Indeed, the candor and clarity of position constitutes the main strength of the volume. The career of Fiorello H. LaGuardia is traversed from his birth in 1882 to the time of his return to his congressional duties in 1919 after his military service abroad in the first World War. The seeker after the sensational or revelatory will be disappointed, for there is little of mystery contained within the volume. Mayhap the most instructive portions of the book are those detailing LaGuardia's experience in the consular service and in the immigration service of the United States; and these have significance in that perspective is still accorded them and the rigors of later demands in terms of time and space have not forced a compression of the data. We could wish for more biographies of similar candor and frankness. To criticise the volume is to criticise the man. To his friends, LaGuardia still will be a friend—to his foes, still an adversary.—CHARLES W. SHULL.

The second edition of Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet's *The People's Choice* (Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xxxiv, 178, $2.75) contains some new comparative material in the "Introduction." Originally published in 1944, it is a study of citizen behavior in the presidential election of 1940. The panel study was conducted in Erie county, Ohio. Though not a typical county, if there is such a phenomenon, it was selected for its average urban-rural character. Twenty-four hundred residents of voting qualifications were chosen for the study. Six hundred of these were carefully selected for the main panel. Each was interviewed, or attempts were made to do so, six times. The first interview was conducted in May, the last following the November election. The other eighteen hundred were divided into three panels, and were used only for control purposes. The members of each were interviewed but once. The study revealed that religion, "sets," family traditions, propaganda, and education were important factors in voter motivation, but that none was so potent as social-economic status. Moreover, individuals do not make up their minds in *vacua*; voting is essentially group decision. The study is fundamental, but we need others of like character for verification purposes. Also, we desperately need new studies on the effect of family traditions, on the dynamics of group leadership, and especially upon economic motivation.—CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

The year 1948 will long be remembered as one when the oracular priests of journalism, public opinion sampling, and political science tripped on the temple steps and fell flat on their faces. The vulgar public guffawed. It also, by its "unusual" political behavior, undermined a whole series of assumptions which until November 3 most of us in the political science priesthood had accepted as eternal verities: "a small vote means a Republican victory," "campaigns have nothing to do with the outcome of elections," "American parties if they are to win must be 'inclusive' rather than 'exclusive'," etc. The September, 1948, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Vol. 259, pp. 207, $2.00) is devoted to the subject "Parties and Politics: 1948." The symposium, edited by Charles C. Rohlfing and James C. Charlesworth, is useful in highlighting the fact that those who write about politics (not to mention law and public administration) move and have their being in tight and largely unconnected little circles which revolve rapidly and sometimes brilliantly on a dozen different levels of abstraction. That the symposium has all the editorial unity of a grab-bag is not the fault of the editors. One has the feeling, after reading the sixteen separate contributions on topics as diverse as "Is Our Two-Party System 'Natural'?," "The Precinct Worker," "The 1948 Preconvention Campaign," and "Where Does the Veteran Stand Today," that conversation would soon lag if the contributors were seated around a single table. Those who need short supplementary readings on parties, campaigns, and pressure groups will find useful pieces in this issue of the *Annals*. More important, perhaps, those who wish to learn why many political "scientists" have been eating crow since November 3 will here find part of the answer. This type of symposium flashes a clear and unmistakable warning that until words like "party," "policy," and "public opinion" evoke coördinate intellectual responses from the experts, not only science but communication will remain effectively impossible within our profession.—STEPHEN K. BAILEY.

In *Wool Tariffs and American Policy* (Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. ii, 168, $3.00), Mr. Donald M. Blinken says of raw wool: (1) United States' production cannot compete with Australian; dual-purpose domestic sheep are less efficient than those primarily bred for wool; and the Australian range is better adapted to economies of scale; (2) expanding United States needs, especially in wartime, must be met increasingly from imports; (3) raw wool tariff benefits (ordinarily to a handful of ranchers) are outweighed by general disadvantages; imports having risen since 1941 to 70 per cent of domestic wool consumption, the tariff constitutes an unconscionable burden on consumers while negligibly assisting its beneficiaries; and (4) protection of domestic wool on military grounds is indefensible; although averaging better than 80 per cent of domestic consumption in the 1930's, United States raw wool production, despite great public assistance, declined 30 per cent during the war! Hence, Mr. Blinken proposes, first, that we remove the tariff on raw apparel wool; and, second, that the government support domestic wool at parity, stockpiling for emergencies that which cannot be resold at competitive prices. Part II, on wool manufactures, compares United Kingdom and United States production and shows foreign imports (essentially United Kingdom) to have averaged 1.7 per cent of domestic production over the last 20 years. Considering their limited and nearly unique market, imported woolens clearly are no threat to domestic industry—whose real challenge lies in synthetic fabrics. Mr. Blinken would remove this tariff, too, arguing that even a slight gain in international trade not only would strengthen Britain economically but would somewhat enhance Western Democracy's political position. Disregarding certain disagreements, the reviewer considers Mr. Blinken's analysis significant for political scientists in its disclosure of the beneficiaries of raw-wool tariffs, in its discussion of the stockman-manufacturer combination, in its demolition of the "security" rationale of raw-wool tariffs, in its policy proposals for raw wool, and in its evocation of political reasons to support proposals for manufactured wool.—CHARLES M. HARDIN.

R. Elberton Smith has properly described his book, *Customs Valuation in the United States; A Study in Tariff Administration* (University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. xv, 380, $7.50), as "a general study in economics, history, public administration, and law' (p. vii). The result is a painstaking inquiry into the theory and practice of valuation of imports for tariff purposes. Following the Introduction, which presents a concise summary of the several methods of customs valuation and their significance, there follow three sections on the history of customs valuation, contemporary valuation law and procedure, and summary and conclusions. The successive tariff battles in United States history come to life in these pages, not as struggles between titans, but in terms of their economic significance and the accompanying stresses and strains of tariff administration. Protectionism, which was on the wane in the years immediately preceding the Civil War, rose again during and after that period and became an established governmental policy with results which make clear that government has directly shaped economic development in past as well as in recent periods of American history. As in other areas of federal administrative activity, the story of the tariff is essentially one in which earlier simplicity has given way to complexity, with the result that in recent years the significant developments in valuation law have been the result of administrative and judicial rather than legislative action. While recognizing with ample documentation the injustices and sometimes the absurdities in customs valuation, the author finds "a substantial degree of practical justice and sanity" (p. 337). This study is an excellent example of the growing need for a marriage, where possible, of subject-matter and public administration. One leaves these pages, not only with a better knowledge of customs valuation, but also with an increased understanding of the problems of administration with which the Bureau of Customs and its predecessors have had to deal.—WELDON COOPER.

The things which the author of a successful textbook can do in a revision are limited in both kind and number. Leonard D. White has done most of these things in the third edition of his *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (Macmillan Co., 1948, pp. xvi, 612, $5.75). He has omitted four chapters from the second edition which many of those who know and have used the text will be sorry to see go; but he has included six new chapters, five of them in a new Part III entitled "The Dynamics of Management," which all will welcome. He has rewritten and drastically rearranged the materials included in his two introductory and his two concluding chapters. For that matter, he has rewritten the whole book, though most of it will be readily recognizable to one familiar with the second edition. Mechanically, he has greatly reduced the number of footnotes, while the type-setter has busied himself putting more words on a page. The over-all result is a somewhat longer book than before, with 39 chapters instead of 37 and exactly 600 pages of text. Those who have come to regard Professor White's book as the standard text for the introductory course in public administration will be more than pleased with the third edition, which obviously represents a very careful and very thorough revision of an already highly satisfactory work.—ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

Charles Fairman's *American Constitutional Decisions* (Henry Holt and Co., 1948, pp. xiii, 454, $2.60) is an excellent presentation of some thirty landmark cases intended for the use of students in American government. The cases were selected to bring into sharp relief several of the primary phases of American government, such as judicial review, separation of powers, constitutional limitations on the states, the commerce power, and the legislative and administrative processes. Students will find a readable and interesting introduction to each case which outlines the historical setting of the controversy and the combination of circumstances that brought it to the stage of litigation. For each case the author has also furnished his own commentary on the opinion's significance, from the point of view both of earlier practice and of its effect upon later interpretation. Views expressed by dissenting justices, such as that of Justice Field in the Slaughterhouse Cases, which had a profound influence on the Court in later years are also included. The general excellence and attractiveness of this little volume is enhanced by individual pictures of Justices Marshall, Johnson, Taney, and Chase, and by several group pictures of the Supreme Court at various periods of our history. The author has also provided a "Table of Succession" of the justices and an extremely good section on the organization of the federal judiciary, rules of appeal, and the method followed by the Supreme Court in deciding cases. The volume is the best of its kind this reviewer has seen.—ALDEN L. POWELL.

The present edition of Caleb Perry Patterson, Sam B. McAlister, and George C. Hester, *State and Local Government in Texas* (Macmillan Co., 1948, pp. x, 590, $3.50) is the third form of this book, evidently designed as a text. It constitutes a useful addition to the list of individual studies in state and local government. The twenty-one chapters (a most satisfactory job of book craftsmanship, incidentally) cover the constitution, structure, and program of the state, with two chapters (too little in my opinion) on local government. In general, the book is well written, with frequent flashes of humor and vivid illustrative comment. Furthermore, the authors do not hesitate to take stands on various matters of policy, although there are times when their position is in the nature of general admonition. Thus, the authors suggest, after outlining a rather heavy dose of recent anti-union legislation in the state, that a more general law to provide for mediation machinery to bring the two sides together would have been better than many statutes emphasizing labor-management division. One cannot quarrel with the attitude, but the suggestion lacks specificity. However, it would be unjust to expect a book of this kind to be primarily a program for action. Even in 590 pages, there is not enough space for that, plus instruction of the type aimed at here. I do feel that this book, like others in the field, runs into danger of becoming a handbook. Is it necessary, for example, to list all of the state's charitable institutions, the duties of the state superintendent of public instruction, and so on? I feel, also, that too much space is given to technological details in certain fields. Should a book on government bother to explain that in road-building sub-surface explorations will disclose the exact nature of the soil foundation? I think I appreciate the authors' dilemma, but I believe they have chosen the wrong solution. The authors' treatment of conservation is interesting. Would it not be significant to suggest more forcefully the reliance placed on federal action? The big question for state government seems to me to be: Can the states survive as significant entities if they prove unable to solve their own problems? Not unrelated to that question is the authors' two or three pages on the poll tax question, which seem to me an almost miraculous draught of red herrings.—LEE S. GREENE.

Research in the government of a given state nowadays seldom goes beyond problems of structure and procedure, with only casual reference to constitutional questions. Albert B. Saye's *A Constitutional History of Georgia, 1732–1945* (University of Georgia Press, pp. xi, 521, $4.50) offers a departure in the direction of an analysis of the state's constitutional history. The story begins with "The Genesis of Georgia" and proceeds, in the main chronologically, to "The Constitution of 1945." The study could quite properly be called a political or governmental history as well as a constitutional history of the state. Chapters are devoted to broad subjects like politics in the antebellum period, the nature of the federal union, and the Reconstruction period. The account is very well written, and occasionally includes quite revealing excursions into the whys and wherefores of Georgia's political and constitutional *mores*. The last five chapters deal with experience under the constitution of 1877 and its successor, the constitution of 1945. After disposing of the Populist movement, the author is reduced, because of the one-party system, to the monotony of brief descriptions of the succession of Georgia governors. Most interesting perhaps is the account of the conflict between Governor Eugene Talmadge and the University of Georgia and Ellis Arnall's subsequent success in insulating the University from gubernatorial domination. Those interested in present-day state constitutional revision may learn much from the chapter on the constitution of 1945. The revision was accomplished through the labors of a 23-member commission authorized by the legislature and appointed by the governor. The burden of work was performed by sub-committees. The completed constitution was proposed by the General Assembly and approved by the people. While Professor Saye's discussions at times run to too great detail for the taste of those uninformed on Georgia history, the volume nevertheless presents a well-designed modern version of an approach to research in state government which has too long been neglected.—JOSEPH M. RAY.

Henry Pratt Fairchild's *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life* (Ronald Press, 1947, pp. vii, 216, $3.00) merits the attention of men and women who are interested in alleviating or eliminating class discriminations, conflicts, and differences in our society. A volume in the Humanizing Science Series, it presents the problem clearly and interestingly—in language easily comprehensible by the layman. The author faces significant facts honestly and states many unwelcome truths. In so doing, however, he has not entirely freed himself from personal prejudices and predilections. Professor Fairchild argues, for example, that assimilation is not a give-and-take process and underestimates the degree to which "the nationality of the United States" is still being shaped by the contact and blending of peoples and cultures. He maintains that the earlier immigrants had qualities quite different (and more desirable) from those arriving later. He suggests that democracy is not incompatible with the differential treatment of different groups of inhabitants, and concludes that "the United States has gone just about as far as it can safely go in permitting, in the name of humanitarianism and liberalism, the dilution of its own nationality." These and other observations hardly rest upon scientific demonstration, as some of the author's fellow sociologists have pointed out. At the same time, this a readable and reasonable account of what we know and do not know about race. By stressing that "all men are much more alike than they are different," that prejudice is not identical with antipathy, that liberal biases should not mistake the desirable for the actual or the possible, and that "tensions and disunity . . . are seldom self-corrective," Professor Fairchild assists in the achievement of intergroup harmony. This achievement "must rest upon either the eradication of antipathy or the control of antipathy and the suppression of its overt manifestations." Men of good-will must work for both.—ERIC C. BELLQUIST.

The Communist "solution" of the Negro problem in America is set forth in Harry Haywood's *Negro Liberation* (International Publishers, 1948, pp. 245, $2.75). The author directs his attention solely to that third or more of the Negro population living in the Black Belt, which is defined as those 470 counties in the southeastern states with a Negro population in excess of thirty per cent. The remaining nine million Negroes are almost ignored, on the assumption that the pattern of race relations for the entire country is determined within the plantation economy of the Black Belt. Therefore any change must begin with the source of the problem. Haywood visualizes the problem as identical with that of a landless peasantry and oppressed national minority in Eastern Europe. It follows that the solution is "land for the landless" and autonomy for the Black Belt. Large landholdings are to be seized and distributed to individual farmers, who will own the tracts privately but be aided by coöperative tractor stations. "Autonomy" implies the abolition of county and state lines to form a self-governing unit whose relationship to the national government is not made clear. Although the book draws upon respectable collections of statistics, the facts are so handled as to make them lead to the conclusions foreordained by the party line, which so pervades the book as to make conversion of non-Communists unlikely. Despite Haywood's vigorous denials, the plan would be another version of segregation, whereas the basic Negro demand is for full acceptance into the American democratic tradition. Moreover, this starting of emancipation with the rural, plantation Negro is unrealistic. To date, the urban Negro has been the first to become politically conscious, and he has gradually brought enlightenment to his country cousins.—DONALD S. STRONG.

In response to the need of political science teachers, who are continually looking for materials to supplement the textbook, another volume of *Select Readings in American Government* (Scribner's, 1948, pp. 780, $4.90) has been compiled by William B. Stubbs and Cullen B. Gosnell, both of Emory University. It is the first of the Scribner Political Science Series under the general editorship of E. Allen Helms, of Ohio State University. The selections pertain to national government in the United States, emphasizing historical origins, legal principles, procedural methods, and functional interpretation. Thus, documentary materials including the great charters of human rights and constitutional development are balanced with fundamental court decisions, congressional records, and articles of current opinion. Brief introductory notes indicate the significance of each item of source material. An unusually good index will be a convenient guide to the detail in the logically arranged readings.—JOHN E. BRIGGS.

As an example of painstaking research, *Personal Aircraft Business at Airports* (Harvard Business School, 1948, pp. xiv, 348, $4.25), by Lynn L. Bollinger and Arthur H. Tully, Jr., deserves more appreciative comment than space here permits. The first of these Harvard Business School studies of airport financing and management, published in 1946, dealt with terminal-type airports. The concern of this second project is the airport which serves principally the private plane-owner, the flight-training operator, and the various commercial activites connected with personal flying. Investigation of more than 180 airports and related installations in forty states, and discussions with operators and government officials, revealed that, beyond the difficulties faced by small businesses everywhere, the private flying airports are limited by a number of considerations peculiar to the aviation industry in its postwar phases. The authors examine these obstacles and come to the conclusion that since most of these operations are conducted on publicly-owned airports, reforms in present-day regulation by both CAA and local airport governing bodies must come before private flying can be more than a speculative business.

This, then, is a book for those primarily interested in local public administration and in government regulation of small business. To that select audience, this specialized study presents authoritative and detailed information.—HILTON P. GOSS.

The relative absence of documentation has for years been one of the chief deterrents to fruitful study of the legislative processes of the states. In *New York State Legislative Annuals for 1946 and 1947* (New York, 1946 and 1947, $7.50 per volume), the New York Legislative Service undertakes to fill part of this need. These volumes, which it is proposed to follow up annually hereafter, contain the most significant of the reports, memoranda and comments of the governor, administrative agencies, and private organizations which accompanied the bills proposed to the New York state legislature during the years covered.—WILLIAM H. YOUNG.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

The White Man's Peace (Meador, 1948, pp. 252, $3.00), by No-Yong Park, is one of the most entertaining and stimulating volumes on world politics I have ever read. The keen humor in it does not prevent it from being a deadly serious book and a very able discussion of the whole problem of war and peace. Drawing widely from history from the most primitive times, the author concludes that wars in all ages have sprung from the absence of centralized authority and have ceased as such authority has been established. He has no doubt that such an authority is in process of being established for the whole of the ever-shrinking earth on which we now live; and it will be done either by one side conquering the other in a final world war, or by the steady strengthening of the United Nations. His definition of the balance of power is arresting: "a system of power politics which was born of anarchy, is nourished by anarchy, and is maintained for the perpetuation of anarchy." Knowing this, he sees all the folly of Russia and the Western Powers seeking constantly to extend their power zones through mutual fear of each other. His only hope is that the peoples may force their governments to increase constantly the authority of the United Nations. Accepting UN as no improvement over the League of Nations, and admitting that the League failed, not because it was a confederation, but because there was no will among the great governments to enforce its law, he lays down the principle that "the settlement of no problem which will undermine the authority of the UN can be sound." By this test, he condemns both the American plan for aid to Greece and Turkey and the Soviet refusal to accept the Baruch atomic control plan. His discussions of the failure of Western imperialism in the Orient and of the pull of the two great powers on the Asiatic peoples are penetrating. It is time that we listen on these problems to good minds of Asiatic origin.

There is here fresh information, candid analysis, and sound judgment. This book will hold the attention of all who do not wish to see civilization finally bankrupted in a last power fight. The author believes that we do not have much time in which to make the decision between a strong UN and a Third World War—some fifteen or twenty years. His book should help to avert the wrong choice.—DENNA F. FLEMING.

A wider understanding of the vital international issues which now confront the United States might be fostered by a precise summary of the development of its foreign policy. In *The Evolution of American Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 187, $2.00), Dexter Perkins has achieved brevity, but sometimes at the expense of accuracy and a balanced approach. After a short summary of the sources of national power, chapters are devoted to the territorial expansion of the United States, isolationism, imperialism, Far Eastern policy, the First World War and the postwar period, the Good Neighbor policy, the challenge from the Orient, and the transition from isolation to international coöperation in the Second World War. A concluding chapter entitled "Summary and Prospect" devotes all too few pages to some general observations on the important developments in the period 1945–48 and the pressing problems that now confront the country. Minor errors of fact and omissions necessary for the sake of brevity are understandable, but it is disappointing to find so little reference to economic aspects of American foreign policy. Practically no mention at all is made of strategic factors in our policy, or of cultural relations. Our policy toward Spain during its recent civil war is not presented, nor is our policy toward the Free French; and the current aid program to Greece and Turkey and the Marshall Plan are mentioned but hardly discussed. One may also question a number of value judgments. For example, Mr. Perkins finds our policy with China in the decade prior to Pearl Harbor to have been based on friendly sentiment and moral principle, but he makes no mention of strategic considerations; while on the other hand he justifies our policy toward Vichy France and Franco's Spain in the Second World War on the basis of military expediency and condemns as "ill-informed and emotional" those who denounced this policy as "appeasement."—ALFRED FERNBACH.

In *Thirty Years of Lebanon and Syria, 1917–1947* (Beirut: Sader Rihani Printing Co., 1948, pp. 614), Eugenie Elie Abouchdid has made a worthwhile contribution to the scarce materials available in English on Syria and Lebanon. Most of the book is devoted to a detailed and colorful chronological account of the internal and external political events in the period between 1941 and 1947. In describing the struggle for independence, the occupation of the territory by Britain and the Free French and the conflict between them, the stalling tactics of the French under DeGaulle, and the final withdrawal of British and French troops as a result of the agreement reached in the United Nations Security Council, the empahsis is upon the situation in the Lebanon with which the author is apparently most familiar. The acquisition and operation of the mandate by France receives a summary review, and the charge is made that the mandate system is worse than the colonial system of imperialism, "for in a colonial administration the blame or credit of the administration lies wholly with those responsible; but under the mandatory system the Haut Commisariat acts. The local administration takes the blame, whenever anything goes wrong." In a postscript, a critical account of the Lebanese elections of May, 1947, and of the economic conditions of the country is given, and the author here cannot resist also devoting a few pages to an indignant discussion, from the Arab point of view of course, of the United Nations partition plan for Palestine. Materials for this work are drawn heavily from the author's diary, numerous documents, and press releases. Although the highly nationalistic slant taken by Abouchdid, the unusual style and organization in which the material is presented, and the omission of an index detract from the value of the book in terms of scholarly research, there is some compensation in the presentation of a valuable collection of documents in the appendices, including the covenant of the Arab League and the Lebanese constitution.—ALFRED FERNBACH.

Although there have been a multitude of books and articles on the Palestine situation in the last year, none—to the knowledge of the reviewer—has explained the legal problems involved so well and completely as Bernard Joseph, *British Rule in Palestine* (Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 279, $3.75). Mr. Joseph, who is military governor of Jewish Jerusalem, documents his interpretation of the Balfour Declaration as incorporated in the Mandate Agreement as meaning that the primary obligation of the British was to provide a national home for the Jewish people. Although this promise was qualified by the phrase, "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine," the author attempts to show that this provision refers merely to religious and civil rights of individuals and not to any political right of the Arabs to dominate the government of Palestine. The Arabs were not guaranteed status quo in respect to population or the amount of land they owned. The author feels that the British violated both the letter and the spirit of the mandate by restricting Jewish immigration and land purchases and cites the resolution of the Permanent Mandates Commission of 1939 condemning these restrictions. Mr. Joseph also cites numerous cases in the Palestine courts holding that the Mandate Treaty was not part of the law of England or Palestine and therefore could not be used by individuals to determine the legality of British actions in Palestine. These decisions were contrary to Lord Alverstone's famous opinion in West Rand Central Gold Mining Company v. The King (2 K.B. 291), in which he stated that international law was part of the law of England and would be applied by municipal tribunals. Mr. Joseph, however, does not mention this case in his discussion of the international law involved. The work has certain defects of a technical nature. There is no bibliography. The editing is at times lax, leading to misspelled words and the omission of parts of sentences. Footnotes are frequently incomplete, especially as to edition and date of publication. On the whole, however, the book is scholarly, stimulating, and interesting.—JOHN B. MCCONAUGHY.

The World Peace Foundation has added another important volume to its series, *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, being *Vol. VIII, July 1, 1945–December 31, 1946* (Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. xxxvii, 962, $6.00), edited by Raymond Dennett and Robert K. Turner. While the material follows substantially the organizational pattern of the preceding volume, several chapters dealing with international problems which have arisen during the first postwar year have been added: National Defense (Chap. VI), emphasizing atomic energy in its domestic aspects; Dependent Areas (Chap. VIII), an inevitable problem resulting from the disenchantment of colonial peoples with the postwar policies of the victors; and Cultural Relations (Chap. XIII), an important weapon in the cold war between conflicting ideologies. The rôle of the United States in relation to the United Nations is dealt with topically under the various chapter headings. Due to lack of space, documents relating to the negotiation of peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania and Finland have been omitted and will form the subject of a supplement to be entitled "The First Peace Treaties." In view of the importance of Italy in the over-all Anglo-American security system, the inclusion of documents relating to peace negotiations with that country would have added to the continuity of the present publication. The material is well arranged and amply supplemented with explanatory notes providing the politico-historical context necessary for its understanding. The volume will be welcomed not only by students of international relations, but also by those interested in comparative government, because of the considerable space devoted to the occupational policies and problems of the United States.—PETER J. FLIESS.

POLITICAL THEORY AND MISCELLANEOUS

Chester C. Maxey has revised his *Political Philosophies* (Macmillan Co., 1948, pp. xiv, 712, $4.65) for a second edition of this well-known textbook. The work is specifically designed for college courses in the history of Western political theory from the time of ancient Greece to the present. However, approximately five-sixths of the book deals with the period begun by the sixteenth century. The theories are developed around the thought of the principal spokesmen for successive ideologies. Professor Maxey has summarized his presentation as inclusive of "(1) a lively biographical sketch of the man behind the philosophy; (2) a concise exposition of the nature and significance of his work; (3) a paraphrased summary of his major writings and doctrines; and (4) a few characteristic quotations. . . . " In each case, a concise description of the political setting is also given. Substantial revision has been undertaken only with respect to material on twentieth-century political thought. Two new chapters summarize the problems and ideas of the century, two deal with totalitarian ideologies, and one each is devoted to communism and democracy. A final chapter concerns "The World Order." As a whole, the text appears to be very adequate for its expressed purpose. It is readable, understandable, and consistent in analysis of the major ideologies. With respect to emphasis, however, two criticisms may be offered. First, the brief chapter on medieval contributions appears insufficient. Secondly, treatment of twentieth-century socialism and communism would not seem to provide the basis of political understanding required by the undergraduate.—THOMAS P. JENKIN.

The volume in the Hafner Library of Classics comprising Jeremy Bentham's *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Hafner, 1948, pp. lii, 378, $3.00 cloth, $1.50 paper) reprints the 1823 edition, page by page, including the author's elaborate table of contents, careful index, and three series of footnotes. Bentham's preface (dating from the first edition of 1789) explains that the treatise was printed (not published) in 1780 as *An Introduction to a Penal Code*, and that his *Defense of Usury* (1787) resulted from his attempt to find a place in his penal system for "that imaginary offense." Professor Lawrence J. Lafleur, of Antioch College, supplies a briefer table of contents, selected bibliography, and a nine-page introduction. His account of the author's writing habits emphasizes the inability to rewrite and prepares the reader for Bentham's frequent footnotes pointing out the need for significant modifications of his text.—MARGARET SPAHR.

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CHARLES B. HAGAN

AND

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472, 80th Congress, which set up the Economic coöperation administration:
3252. Iceland, 69 p. 20¢.
3253. Italy. 55 p. 15¢.
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3269. Ireland. 42 p. 15¢.
3270. Luxembourg. 55 p. 15¢.
3273. United Kingdom. 42 p. 15¢.
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3275. United States-United Kingdom occupied areas in Germany. 42 p. 15¢.
3279. Belgium. 55 p. 15¢.
3286. Denmark. 49 p. 15¢.
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3282. International conference on safety of life at sea, April 23–June 10, 1948. 201 p.
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